FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-219
Wednesday
15 November 1989

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CEMA Economic Consultations Begin in Prague

LD0911151789 Prague CTK in English 1405 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CTK)—Central Committee secretaries for economic questions of fraternal parties of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states started their consultations here today.

Discussed during their two-day meeting will be the possibilities of the further extension of cooperation and socialist economic integration.

Attending the event are delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Grisha Filipov, the Hungarian Socialist Party headed by Presidium member Csaba Hamori, the Communist Party of Vietnam headed by Central Committee secretary Vu Oanh, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany headed by member of the Central Audit Commission Kaethe Frei, the Communist Party of Cuba headed by Secretariat member and Central Committee secretary Lionel Soto Prieto, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party headed by Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Demchigiyn Molomjamts, the Polish United Workers' Party headed by Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Zbigniew Michalek, the Romanian Communist Party headed by Central Committee member and deputy chairman of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity Eleonora Cojocaru, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Nikolay Slyunkov, and a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Ivan Knotek.

Also present is CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev.

HSP Delegation Participates

LD0911190589 Budapest Dometic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] The Central Committee secretaries in charge of economic affairs of the socialist and worker parties of the CEMA member states are holding consultations in Prague about reform of the organization. A three-man Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] delegation headed by Csaba Hamori, member of the HSP Presidium, is participating in the talks by observing, but with full consultative rights.

Jakes Receives Party Secretaries

LD0911204789 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] We begin with a report on the opening of a consultative meeting of Central Committee secretaries from the fraternal parties of the CEMA member countries, which are in charge of economic questions. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, this evening received the participants in the meeting. During the comradely discussions, the representatives of the fraternal parties briefed comrade Jakes on their countries' approach to tackling topical problems of CEMA cooperation and activities.

Milos Jakes explained the CPCZ stand on these questions and stressed that our party continues to be oriented toward the improvement and development of CEMA activity in restructuring the mechanism of cooperation. In this context, he underscored that topical problems of the CEMA member countries' economies should be tackled, in particular through all-round cooperation and in a spirit of international solidarity and mutual understanding.

Delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia are taking part in the consultative meeting. Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, is also present. The Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation is led by comrade Ivan Knotek. During the 2-day deliberations, the possibilities of developing mutual cooperation and socialist economic integration will be assessed.

HSP's Hamori Cited on CEMA Future

LD1011225989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Secretaries of the CEMA countries' communist workers' parties are meeting in Prague—at least this is the name under which they began the conference in which Csaba Hamori, representing the Hungarian Socialist Party, is taking part, but strictly with the right of consultation. Our correspondent, Evelyn Forro, reports from Prague:

[Begin Forro recording] Every sign indicates that there will be no CEMA summit this year—this is what Csaba Hamori said, in a statement he gave to Hungarian radio. He added that at the current exchange of views in Prague, everyone stated his already known opinions, but the standpoints did not whiz by one another like before. He also said that in essence we alone represent the view that the time of monolithic unity has expired and the future lies in bilateral relations. Csaba Hamori noted that already at the beginning, a change in the name of the meeting was proposed, because it originally was recorded as a meeting of economic secretaries of the CEMA countries' communist and workers' parties. However, the Hungarians do not belong to this. Thus, CTK also wrote "friendly countries." [end recording]

Jakes Receives USSR's Slyunkov

LD1011220689 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today Soviet Communist Party Politburo member and Central Committee secretay Nikolay Slyunkov, who

attended a meeting of secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the CMEA member countries for economic questions.

Nikolay Slyunkov characterized the present period of restructuring in the Soviet Union, which concerns all spheres of life of society and requires a responsible approach of citizens. Political restructuring and the economic reform which started on the initiative of the Soviet Communist Party has met with broad support of the population. There are also extreme views and expressions which attract the attention of society but are not an alternative to restructuring, he said.

The Soviet representative informed Milos Jakes of measures adopted in the sphere of the management of the economy which are aimed inter alia at settling the deficit and creating balance between rising incomes and production of goods. Milos Jakes acquainted the guest with the development of the political situation in Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives exchanged views on topical tasks of the fraternal parties in the improvement of economic cooperation between the two countries and in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as on some international issues.

Meeting Ends

LD1011222289 Prague CTK in English 1741 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 10 (CTK)—Secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the CMEA member countries for economic questions exchanged views on the questions of preparations for a meeting of the parties' leading representatives at their meeting here on November 9-10.

They discussed proposals for the improvement of economic and scientific-technological cooperation of the CMEA member countries.

The heads of the delegations were received by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

The two-day meeting was attended by representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Soviet Communist Party, the Czechoslovak Communist Party and a member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

CSSR's Knotek Reviews Meeting

LD1011224289 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 10 (CTK)—The purpose of the meeting of secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the CMEA member states for economic questions was to consider the preparation of materials for the meeting of the party leaders, involving the future of socialist integration, the work of CMEA and relations between the individual countries, Ivan Knotek of Czechoslovakia told CTK today.

Ivan Knotek, the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, who led a Czechoslovak delegation at the two-day meeting, said the principal issue that was discussed today and will be considered at a top level in the future is a radical restructuring of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The aim is to create for each national economy conditions for a new quality of international labour division on the principle of mutual advantage, he said.

Part of the debate at the meeting was orientated on the forms and methods of work as the principles valid in CMEA in many respects did not bind members to adhere to their international commitments, and thus individual sides were harmed. There were a number of such cases also in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, Czechoslovakia, too, has been supporting ideas to introduce new forms based mainly on economic instruments, on new legislative relations, Ivan Knotek said.

He also said the participants had agreed on the necessity that in some questions, namely those concerning bilateral relations and those between three or four sides, unanimity should not limit scope for the sides to be able to cooperate according to their interests. Accord by the sides has been reached in this sphere, Ivan Knotek said, adding that the problems of Cuba, Vietnam and Mongolia will be discussed at a meeting of secretaries in Havana next year.

Ivan Knotek said "the existing CMEA market is not perfect. It is, above all, a market in kind. We want, however, to build gradually within a short period of time a single CMEA market on the principle of a well-functioning market of national economies, which as a whole would be capable of successfully competing with, for instance, the European Economic Community or other countries."

He stressed that the process of creating a single market must be built on the principle of the competitive character of products.

In spite of some differences in opinions, all the participants in the meeting agreed that further cooperation within CMEA and its improvement will be beneficial, Ivan Knotek added.

Knotek Interviewed on Meeting

AU1311125189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, by journalists from RUDE PRAVO, Czechoslovak Television,

and CTK, in Prague on 10 November: "Despite Our Differences, We Are in Favor of Cooperation"]

[Text] At the end of the meeting of secretaries with responsibility for economic issues from the central committees of the CEMA member states' fraternal parties, a meeting which was held in Prague on Thursday and Friday [9 and 10 November], Ivan Knotek, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, gave an interview to RUDE PRAVO, Czechoslovak Television, and CTK.

[Question] What are the meeting's results?

[Knotek] Our meeting is linked to talks which took place at the Berlin meeting of secretaries with responsibility for economic issues. Its mission was to discuss the preparation of fundamental materials for the meeting of our fraternal parties' most senior representatives. This involves fundamental issues that concern the future development of socialist integration, the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and the bilateral relations between individual countries. CEMA has achieved a series of positive results throughout its 40 years existence. Undoubtedly, it has contributed to our countries' current high level of development, although we are not—nor can we objectively be—satisfied with the results of this level or with the results of the forms and methods of CEMA's work. Therefore, the fundamental question considered today, and which will be considered at the highest level in the future, was the radical restructuring of CEMA. This involves ensuring that conditions for better quality in the international division of labor are established for each national economy on the principle of mutual advantage.

[Question] In connection with the profound changes taking place in individual council countries, have differences in the approach of individual countries become apparent?

[Knotek] Of course, because the process of restructuring reveals a number of problems—whether they are economic or political. For example, if we highlight the principle of self-financing in the enterprise sphere, even under conditions of the international division of labor, we raise the issue of mutual advantage and benefit. In this sense, part of the discussion was oriented toward forms and methods of work because the principles valid to date in CEMA, in many respects, do not bind members to fulfilling their international commitments. In many cases, no conclusions have resulted from this. Thus, damage has been done or is being done to individual parties.

Therefore, problems are cropping up for these parties and we in Czechoslovakia have experienced a number of such cases. Therefore, from this point of view, we have also raised the issue and have supported ideas to introduce new forms based, first and foremost, on economic instruments, on new legislative relations, and on the technical sphere for resolving problems concerning the unification of norms and capabilities. This should be done so that, on the basis of the convertibility of our products, we are capable of entering foreign markets and developed capitalist markets. In this sphere, there was also a discussion associated with the fundamental problem of consensus in CEMA. We came to the conclusion that it is essential in some issues, especially in those involving bilateral relations and tripartite or quadripartite relations, that consensus not limit scope for the parties to be able to cooperate according to their interests. In this sphere, it is possible to say that mutual agreement has been reached. A particular problem concerning CEMA is the problem of Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia. In light of the nature of these economies, it will be necessary to return to these issues. We agreed to consider this problem at the meeting of secretaries to be held in Havana next year.

[Question] There was also talk about the possibility creating a CEMA common market. In this regard, was any specific conclusion reached?

[Knotek] The CEMA market that exists now is imperfect. It is, first and foremost, a market in kind. However, we want to gradually build, within a short period of time, a single CEMA market on the principle of a well functioning market of our national economies, a market which, as a whole, would be capable of successfully competing, for example, with the EC or with other countries. This involves important issues associated with, first and foremost, the sphere of the activity of joint enterprises, production cooperation, and other forms that would accelerate the whole process of creating a single market. But let me stress once more, this process must be built upon the principle of the convertibility of products manufactured to a high standard and with which we will be able to compete on the world market.

Despite some differences in opinion, all the participants concurred on the benefit of further cooperation within CEMA and on its improvement.

Alia Speaks at Officers School Ceremony

AU1411161089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, made at Enver Hoxha United Higher Officers School in Tirana on 8 November, entitled "Faithful to its National Mission and to the Socialist Ideal."]

[Text] Dear comrades, I am very pleased to greet you on this occasion in the name of the Central Committee and of the Defense Council, and to wish success to the students, pedagogues, and the entire personnel of your school.

It was appropriate for this school, the United Higher Officers School, which bears the name of the glorious Commander of our People's Army and great leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to be opened on the third anniversary of the party's founding and on the eve of the country's liberation.

This was an act of affection and of adoration for the party that led the National Liberation War and guided the people to their greatest historic victory, to the country's liberation, independence, and complete national sovereignty, and to the establishment of the people's authority. At the same time, it was also a reflection of the confidence that, with the party to lead them, our people would also win the battle for the reconstruction of the country and the construction of socialism.

Choosing 8 November as the date for the creation of the first school for young officers, our people's Army wished to affirm that it was and would remain forever the army of the party, which created it, and of the people, from whose bosom it had emerged; that it was and would remain loyal to the national liberation and socialist ideal, for which it had fought and shed its blood. Therefore, it must be a special joy for you, and all those others who have entered this school, that the founding of the school and its anniversary are so symbolic and loaded with such significance.

Your school has the merit of having trained entire generations of officers to a high standard during the past 45 years, who have made and continue to make a great contribution to the strengthening and progress of the People's Army. Your school has not only trained capable military cadres with regard to contemporary technical knowledge in the field of defense but also officers with a broad political and ideological horizon, with a lofty party-mindedness, and ardent patriotism. Following the rapid and all-round development of the country under the party's constant solicitude, as well as that of the Ministry of Defense, the Joint School has always been at an advanced level, like a" other schools, in training capable and devoted specialists, always ready to work and fight for the defense and progress of socialist Albania.

I avail myself of this opportunity to particularly congratulate your teachers for their conscientious work, their profound understanding of the mission entrusted them, and the results of their work, which deserves every praise. In the party's instructions to your school, it has stressed that the professional and military training must never be separated from the political, ideological, and cultural education. Your school must bear this instruction in mind at all times, and apply it in conformity with the times and the dynamism of internal and external developments. No matter how successful they may be, the results attained must never represent an ultimate objective, but a base from which to conquer new heights.

In our system, the officer represents a special and important social personality. He is not only a military specialist but also a party militant, educator of young people, and a fighter for what is new in human relations. Our people send their children to carry out military service not merely with the wish to perform the sacred duty of defending the country but also with the assurance that the army will train and educate them to be honest and loyal citizens, that it will give them culture and imbue them with the necessary values to progress in life. In this sense, the soldier is a mirror of the officer, of his knowledge, culture, and behavior. In the same way that every soldier must remember the time that he has served under his officer's command, the latter, too, the officer, must feel happy about the progress made by his soldiers. The school must therefore attach special importance to the training and constant pedagogical and command qualification of the officers, to the mastering of new professional and social knowledge, to new methods of communication.

The defense of the country, freedom, its independence, and of the victories of the people's revolution is a sacred duty for everyone. But it is a duty above all duties for the People's Army and its cadres. The accomplishment of its mission, particularly under present international situation, is not becoming easier. The situation is very fluid. New tensions and threats are being continually created. Imperialism and other reactionary forces have never relinquished their expansionist and hegemonistic aims, their desire to plunder the freedom and independence of the peoples, to subjugate and enslave them. Proceeding from these strategic aims, large financial and economic assets have been placed in the service of perfecting their military potential. Old weapons are soon being replaced by new ones. Combat tactics are being perfected and becoming more sophisticated.

The party and the state have always considered and will continue to consider the needs to supply the Army with the necessary equipment to assure an invincible defense. But our principle is that, now, as in the past, man is the decisive factor in battle. Therefore, let us strengthen and perfect this factor. The party appreciates very highly your school's contribution in training military cadres and for its educational and scientific work. It is a particular honor for me, to inform you that, appreciating the exemplary work of your school, the Presidium of the

People's Assembly has decided to award the United Higher Officers School with the decoration of the Golden Star of Hero of Socialist Labor. [Hurrahs, shouts of "Party, Enver—We are always ready"] May you keep it with honor.

Dear comrades, congratulating you once more for the festivities and the title awarded to you, allow me to congratulate you also for the great festivities of 28 and 29 November. May you celebrate them joyfully, with all the Armed Forces of the Republic and our glorious people.

May you always keep high the name of the People's Army. May you always keep high and further promote the combative virtues and militant spirit of our brave partisans and our military traditions.

Long live the Albanian Workers Party, which led us to the victory of the revolution and socialism.

Long live Marxism-Leninism.

Glory to the founder of the party and of our People's Army, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Alia Speaks on Highland Development in Moker

AU1411161289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at a rally in the village of Pleshisht, in the Moker region of Pogradec District, on 7 November, and entitled "The Socialist Ideal—A Major Motivating Force Toward Higher Levels."]

[Text] Dear sisters and brothers of Moker [applause], when I was sent by the Central Committee to take part in the conference of you district, the leading comrades here proposed various events. The program is up to you, I said. Let us go wherever necessary, but I want to go to Moker. [cheers] I have decided on Moker myself, I said, and the comrades in the district did not disappoint me, but even said that they too had planned for such a meeting in the center of Moker.

It is a special pleasure for me to meet the people of this militant region, outstanding for their loyalty and generosity, whom many writers have described in their works as embodiments of the finest Albanian virtues and sentiments. [applause, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

I take this occasion to convey to you warmest greetings from the party Central Committee, and I wish you ever greater victories on the brilliant road of socialism. [shouts of "Party of Labor"]

Moker and Pogradec are proud of each other. The whole country knows these areas for their courage and patriotism, for their high cultural level in labor and living standards, for their hospitality and spiritual qualities. They achieved their high level of national awareness through a long struggle to preserve and build on these values, and brought Albanian reading primers from distant regions, hidden in icons. The man of Moker fully deserves the nickname given to him by history, Gjok Shqiptari [Gjok the Albanian]. [cheers]

A legendary aura surrounds the figure of Maro Podgozhani, a fighter and rebel against the feudal landlords, anti-people regimes, foreigners, and traitors. Moker's fame increased even further in the years of the National Liberation War. Its partisan band, created in the spring of 1942, was among the first to adopt the party's line on the struggle. With powerful emotion, our unforgettable teacher Comrade Enver Hoxha described his personal meetings with this band and its warriors, with its brave commander Reshit Collaku, the patriot Zyko Kalivaci, and others. In this struggle alone, Moker gave to the homeland the blood of 89 martyrs. The battalion that assumed the name of the heroic son of this district, became one of the most glorious units of our partisan army. Always, we will recall for the generations the patriotic achievement of the martyrs Deme Haxhiu, Sali Mani, and many other sons and daughters of Moker.

We mention and always will mention the National Liberation War. We recall it particularly in jubilee years, such as the present anniversary of the 45th anniversary of the liberation. The National Liberation War brought the people to power. For the first time in history, the people enjoyed the fruits of the sacrifices they made to liberate the country from the foreign yoke. This time, they had the party, which did not allow anyone to snatch the victory from their hands. The people waged the struggle, and the people decided the road they were to follow. The people chose the road of independent development, the road of people's democracy, and the construction of socialism.

Before I came here, I familiarized myself with the main data about the economic and social development of the agricultural cooperatives in the Moker region. The high results that you have achieved make this meeting doubly joyful. I will not mention facts and figures, because the progress of Moker is before our very eyes, and you know more about it than anybody else. I wish to remind you of only one thing: Your level of income, drawn mainly from agriculture, matches and even surpasses lowland areas. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

I make special mention here of the agricultural cooperative of Laktesh, one of the most mountainous, but at the same time a most valuable example for all the economies of Pogradec, including those on the plain, for its economic and financial results and its level of organization.

I learned at yesterday's district conference that the cooperative of Pleshisht, where we are gathered today, has stable and constantly increasing results. Since 1985, the main agricultural and animal products have in your case risen by 20-40 percent. This year you have produced on average 6 quintals of cereals per head. Incomes per worker are satisfactory and are expected to rise. From the brigade's small fields alone, you have obtained this

year 12 kg of beans per head, at a price of up to 1 lek per kg. If you achieve such exemplary results in this remote region, the opportunities for increasing agricultural production on the plains and in lowland areas in general are many times greater. Therefore, you and other advanced cooperatives of Moker region, deserve the party's warmest thanks. [applause]

Dear comrades, all Albania is developing and making progress. This year is closing in the way that we wished, with much higher results than in other years of the 5-year period. Reports from the districts on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of tasks in agriculture and industry, as we have noticed, are accumulating every day. Up till now, Sarande, Shkoder, Vlore, Gjirokaster, Elbasan, Tirana, and other districts have reported the fulfillment of their corn production plans. Other districts of the republic are on the same road.

The intensification of agricultural production under today's conditions can no longer be confined to restricted areas, nor to the lowlands alone. It must be extended to hilly and mountainous regions also, adapting to and relying on their conditions and natural resources. Such regions as Moker, the Highlands of Tirana, Dangelli in Permet, Zagori in Gjirokaster, Kurvelesh, and others, not to mention the vast area of mountain pasture in the north of the country, must be turned into vast regions for the development of stock-raising. The economic and social problems of mountain regions always call for particular attention. Raising prosperity in these regions not only involves the living standards of the peasantry, but a better display of the advantages of cooperativism. The party's aim is for peasants and herdsman in the most remote regions to be fully content with the agricultural economy, and to principally rely for his prosperity on the income he obtains from it. Hilly and mountainous cooperatives need constant help. Where natural conditions are harshest, with certain exceptions such as Moker, the financal and economic agricultural situation has in fact lagged behind. Social problems in the countryside are both more numerous and more sensitive. There is greater need for help from the state. There exists a special decree that gives priority to state investments in these zones, yet the practical benefits of this, and of other economic levers that are used in the relations between the state and group property, can remain minimal if the production for the market of the mountain cooperatives remains, as it is, very limited. There can be no profits from preferential prices if nothing is put on the market. If, for example, in highland areas, the purchase price of wheat in 60 leks per quintal higher than in the plains, the cooperatives only profit if they sell their wheat. However, if they do not place it on sale, but consume themselves what they produce, and nothing remains, then they do not profit from the preferential state purchase price.

The possibilities of the national economy for exploiting natural resources have been increased and are expanding with every passing year. Under these conditions, one can no longer speak of rich and poor areas. Where one resource does not exist, nature supplies a different one. The highlands do not have the same climate as the plains, but they are favored with enviable pastures. Intensification means applying the most rational production methods everywhere in the plains and the highlands, fighting to ensure that nature yields its utmost material wealth, and increasing the amount of production destined for sale, not only from livestock, but from fruit and vegetable production, in the case of the highlands, and from forestry, handicrafts, and other subsidiary trades. However, it is a fact that many handicraft traditions in the countryside are declining and being forgotten, because the view has arisen that the peasantry can look to state enterprises for their necessary household appliances, kitchen equipment, tools, furniture, and other essential items. Thus, not only have shortages been created, but the field of production activity of agricultural cooperatives has been narrowed, and subsidiary trades on a national scale yield only about 10 percent of the general incomes of the cooperatives.

It is well known that the land is the main source of production in the countryside, and the state has given it to the cooperatives and agricultural enterprises to use for an unlimited period. However, despite this, even at the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, their right to use, in agreement with the state, various other natural resources of secondary value that are found on their territory, such as limestone and ornamental stone, secondary forest products, lakes and rivers, medicinal herbs, gypsum, clay, and the like, was still not expressed in law. The spread and expansion of trades of an industrial or craft character in the countryside is hampered not only by the legal aspect, but primarily by the material aspect. There can be no crafts without giving the cooperatives metals, timber, glass, wicker and broom, coal, and so forth.

We complain today that there are no itinerant craftsmen, and that such skilled workers as blacksmiths, tinsmiths, carpenters, and others, are becoming increasingly rare, while nobody pays any attention, or very little, to supplying them with their necessary materials. It is not only industry, but the village that must worry about small consumer items and articles missing from the market. The production and processing of wool products, brooms, and various food products, such as pickles and winter stores in general, must be a part of the activities the cooperatives and village families themselves. The peasantry, without reducing, but on the contrary by increasing to a significant extent its contribution to society, must profit more from the incomes realized by their own products. This is another field where the internal self-help of the cooperatives must be increased, with the aim of raising their processing capacity. However, activities in this field must be undertaken after being subjected to rigorous scientific scrutiny, for they concern the social and class aspect of economic policy. We must encourage more activity in the agricultural cooperatives in processing milk, fruit, and vegetables. Of

course, this activity must be accompanied by certain measures on the part of the state authorities, whether, as I said, from the point of view of material assistance, or by deciding the prices the state will pay for dairy products and fruit and vegetables processed by the agricultural cooperatives.

The ties between the peasantry and agriculture must be supported by increased agricultural production and increased incomes in the cooperatives, the expansion of essential services in remote regions, road-building, and the improved efficiency of health and sociocultural institutions. A healthy economy, an emancipated way of life, and the urban standards of planning in village areas are preconditions for strengthening the advantages of cooperativism and the socialist order as a whole.

A range of skills is vanishing almost unnoticed. I have seen that Elbasan-type houses are being built in this area too. Personally, I like these houses. However, I do not understand why the typical houses of Moker are being abandoned. The builders of Moker were famous. The masons of these parts were contracted to carry out the most difficult construction jobs in such distant places as Wallachia. Moker families, however poor they may have been, built two-story houses. This tradition must not be abandoned. It is understandable that villagers have many demands for building now houses. This reflects their comfortable economic circumstances, the elevated cultural level of the peasantry, as well as the smooth development of democratic processes. However, in reality, the quantity of building in the villages does not reflect these possibilities, because demands for the necessary materials are not met. There is a lack of plaster, stone, timber. There are not enough bricks, tiles, and so forth. The view has arisen that the peasant must ask the state for these things. There are even claims for bricks from Moker, a place of stone and other natural materials. This is not a good thing. Let the cooperative itself produce the plaster with simple furnaces burning forest and woodland waste. Similarly, the cooperative can provide the building stone and the other necessary materials.

Comrades, the November celebrations are drawing near. We are approaching them with suitably satisfactory results in all fields. The documents of the eighth party Central Committee plenum have roused the militant spirit of all working people, and have inspired their vigor at work, their participation in mass actions, and their economic productivity. Let them turn this enthusiasm and optimism which prevails everywhere into material goods for the benefit of society and our socialist homeland.

Long live the people of Moker. Long live our people. Long live the Albanian Workers Party. Eternal glory to the achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha. [ovation]

Supreme Court Announcement on Ecoglasnost Case

AU1411200389 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, 14 (BTA)—On November 13, 1989 a panel of the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria heard civil case No.202/1989, filed in connection with a complaint lodged by the Ecoglasnost Non-Economic Association against a ruling of the Sofia City Court whereby its application for registration had been turned down.

The Supreme Court will issue a decision on the case within the statutory time limit, and that was explicitly stated by the president of the judicial panel when the proceedings were completed while foreign journalists were present in the courtroom. This circumstance was written down in the case record.

The reports carried by certain foreign media on November 13 and 14, to the effect that the judicial panel allegedly had immediately ruled to quash the appalled ruling of the Sofia City Court due to an inadequate procedure and had allegedly returned the case for rehearing to the same court, are, therefore, untrue.

Importance of Plenum's 'Many Truths' Viewed

AU1411103989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Kosta Andreev article: "Toward Renewal"]

[Text] The recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] now is the topic of conversations throughout the country. I do not recall any other plenum that has evoked such stirring of the spirits. Naturally, there is nothing unusual in this. What could be better—the indifference and apathy are being pushed aside by the healthy interest in the changes. This is the first result of the plenum. Perhaps the excitement is great because things were somewhat delayed. Certainly, there are also other reasons. However, there would hardly be a Bulgarian citizen who does not approve this political decision, that was so extremely necessary for our nation. Furthermore, a significant relaxation was felt in our social atmosphere after the concluding speech of Petur Mladenov, the new general secretary. Nevertheless, the burden of the problems has not changed. Accumulated throughout the years, this burden will stay with us for many years.

Indeed something very important and unusual took place. The time dimension will allow us to better assess 10 November, because Todor Zhivkov's resignation exceeds by far the framework of an organizational procedure. However, regardless of everything, we are witnessing a new political culture and a new approach toward the most complex and delicate problem of political life—the replacement of the leader. This is a normal thing in civilized societies. Unfortunately, however, the administrative-command system turned this act into something taboo for society. This system is afraid of changes and the new persons, because only God knows what changes they could effect.

Thus, we witnessed political behavior of a kind we have longed to see for long time. We witnessed a civilized dialogue, which enhances our hope for democratizing our society and its renewal in the spirit of our popular traditions and socialist principles.

Many truths were uttered at the plenum, including the things said about the administrative system that operated for decades and that appeared to be totally unfit, and about the fact that life must not be glossed over and that we must honestly and openly speak about the problems that have accumulated. And, of course, the main thing—that we must finally and irreversibly dismantle the administrative-command system. Those are fateful truths. However, let us not be hasty, because the most important is yet to come. We must implement restructuring. The question is, how?

I pose this question because for years we have been talking about restructuring. Very strong words have been said. Some of them have even become worn out through overuse. However, the words did not fill our souls or our stores, because throughout all those years the administrative-command system did not lose a single hair on its head.

Despite the fact that rather original and positive ideas were proposed, our society's steam engine started to puff and blow on the upward incline of history. This was noticed by everyone. There was no need of any proof. However, the doors of some offices remained closed to the truth. At precisely the same time, when the domestic market was becoming increasingly impoverished, when the Bulgarian citizens began to forget the small things that were traditional in life and everyday practice, when it was felt by all that the financial and foreign currency balances had been disrupted, and when the number of those who could not make ends meet increased, the statistical reports heralded the regular impressive plan overfulfillment. Indeed, the National Assembly and our national conscience used to accept those reports without thinking.

Therefore, perhaps before we proceed to anything else, we need an honest dialogue about what are we, about our economic and social situation, and about the different conditions in which people live [koy zhivee kak] in Bulgaria. This will not be a pleasant dialogue. However, we badly need it if we are to assume the correct tone of voice and make a fresh start. I can already hear how some people are fuming: Are you starting to dig up the backyard again? However, if we have a backyard, it is our duty to clean it up. Nobody will do this for us. I am convinced that the people must know the truth, regardless of how unpleasant it is. I do not think that this will discourage and demobilize the people, as we used to be told for many years.

Now our ideas need a new injection of confidence. However, it will only come along the road of truth, the whole truth about the situation in the country and the serious nature of the problems that are facing us. The manner in which the issues of truth and glasnost were dealt with in the concluding speech of the new general secretary really represents a new factor in the philosophy of socialist renewal in our country. With the exception of secrets related to our defense and security, other taboos do us no honor. Secrecy is the command system's mode of existence.

Well, currently it is almost shameful to attack glasnost in principle. However, precisely because of this the formula of limited glasnost was invented. Its authors raised an admonishing finger and said: "Yes, glasnost, but what kind of glasnost?!" However, glasnost is like virginity—it either exists or it does not. Unfortunately, among the executioners of glasnost we can find not only statesmen, but also leaders of the mass media. Is it mere accident that writing in our country often turned into glossing over? The transition from partial to full glasnost will be one of the most difficult areas of restructuring. However, it will be equally difficult to check our sincerity toward glasnost!

Naturally, glasnost presupposes pluralism of opinions, which only a few years ago was painful to our ears. Some sort of brawl, they used to call it. Uniform thinking was the most respected slogan, and this meant one thing only: the lack of any thinking. Furthermore, those who used to think differently were banished as destroyers of the existing order. Indeed, in order to exist, the command system had to struggle against somebody. When there was nobody to struggle against, one used to invent him. Even now, many comrades have difficulty saying the word pluralism, and not only because it is a foreign word. Legend attributes the following saying to Muhammad: "If science repeats the Koran it is useless, and if it contradicts it—it is harmful." There is no distance between uniform opinion and the personality cult.

The thoughts of millions of people are society's greatest asset. However, until now this was a buried treasure. This was a waste for which history will never forgive us, and because of which we shall bear the cross of our backwardness for a long time to come. Shall we learn how to respect each other, listen to each other, and argue, but do all this without raising an admonishing finger and making organizational conclusions? Shall we learn to communicate but without the lofty rostrums and presidiums, in which the same people have seats for many years? The times require that we take off our epaulettes. If we see every discussion and argument merely as deviations, then discussions are redundant. Democracy is not only government of the majority, but also provides the possibility for the minority to express itself. It exists and will exist only when a guarantee for the freedom of all opinions is created. Now the important thing is to get rid of all prejudices and ideological scarecrows, and try to understand our time, rather than save the old schemes and old cadres that are no longer fit. The renewal of socialism will begin with the renewal of thinking, while the pace of restructuring will depend on the speed with which we implement the ideological cleansing by rejecting the monopoly on thought held by the phenomenon of leaderism [vozhdism]. We do not need political disciples but thinking citizens with equal possibilities to express their opinion on all social issues without any exception.

When we talk about the calamities caused by the command system we most often use economic data. It shows where we have lagged or got stuck. Numerical data are being cited. However, hardly anyone can calculate the calamities caused by uniform thinking and freezing the nation's intellectual potential because of the decades-old practice that everything must be decided in one place, by one center, and even by one person. What about the others? They simply had to await their instructions. Today one thing, tomorrow something else. Today shallow ploughing and hydrophobization [khidrofobizathiyata], tomorrow the organization of tourism and the iron-casting shops. State and public organizations, which were assigned a certain role one day, and a completely different role the next, also used to await instructions. Even the trade unions were no exception. They used to change their role almost every season, one day being "guarantors," turning into "an organization for assistance and cooperation," the next.

When shall we become more modest? Yes, too often in our country it was the case that an individual person or political force, from top to the bottom and within the entire hierarchy of management, assumed the right to speak about everything on behalf of everyone. Civic society means something different. The system that was created in our country could not severe its umbilical cord with war communism despite all attempts. We are yet to face skirmishes with the philosophy of the cavalry attack. How long will we continue to behave as if we were at war?

What about the class approach? One could ask where it is heading? Let us be honest to the end. Is the place of all people in our society being determined by the class to which they belong or by their contribution to labor? I doubt it. It would be closer to the truth to say that man's social status in our society depends to a large degree on his connection with the administrative-command system and this system's apparatus, and not on the fact that he belongs, for instance, to the workers' class. There are too many people in our country who turned their loyalty to the administrative-command system into a profession and a profitable place for themselves and their relatives. Our socialist cornfield was polluted. Socialist renewal is impossible without moral purification. How shall we do this? Let us think together. However, one thing is clear: The place for double standards is in history's garbage cans.

And yet, it is not the idea of socialism that is in a crisis, not at all. Deformed Stalinist socialism is in a crisis. We

know very well from history that, despite the experiments conducted by our party, the Stalinist variety of socialism was also reproduced on Bulgarian soil. There were numerous reasons that produced this situation, and obviously we will return to them later. I am convinced that those who urge us not to dig into the past so that we forget it, in other words—let bygones be bygones—do not think about the future. They even cite the USSR as an example. They think that ferment has been raised there. Yes, there is ferment; however, all people there have awoken to political life and creativity, an unprecedented example. Must we fear the awakening of the people?

Indeed, restructuring will succeed only if it becomes the cause of the people. We know that the idea of renewal came from the top. However, it did not bring about a breakthrough, because it did not encompass the millions of people. Even in recent years, everything was conducted according to the administrative order. As before, the people were merely required to be good implementers of ideas and considerations sent by the top. Indeed, millions of working people, who bore all the responsibility, did not have the right to an opinion, and thus even the germs of self-management were nipped in the bud. The previous scripts prevailed. While a certain instruction had still not reached the bottom, another was sent. Go left, right, then about-face 180 degrees. Go from one turning point to another, from a key to a superkey. It does not suffice to say that all this was confusing. It used to demobilize the people, who did not understand in the name of what they had to restructure themselves, and what better things lay ahead. And the most important thing—it proved impossible to overcome the people's alienation from labor and the government. Generally speaking, we remained in the same place we were before. Let us not confuse things now and think that we can suddenly exceed our possibilities. Let us not set the timetable for renewing socialism. Let us first create normal human conditions of life for the people and remember that there is no more precious school than life itself and practice. Practice will show us our way and, most important, will prompt us to do what the people want—those who cultivate the land, smelt the metal, and develop science. It was Glinka who said that the people compose the music, while the composer merely sets it down.

And where are they, the people, now? Their active presence as advisers, mass support, and creators of restructuring is the main necessity of the current political moment. Will we be able to note this necessity? We must, because otherwise we cannot succeed!

Editorial on Plenum

AU1411113389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Reflection and Action"]

[Text] **A period of 48 hours is too short to enable everyone to fully make sense of all the profound aspects of what the recently concluded November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has offered us by its work. However, even in this short period one is made aware of the exceptional interest that the plenum aroused, the exceptional interest with which the concluding speech of Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, is being read and reread. The first telephone calls, first written impressions, and first conversations provide evidence of universal approval, support, and readiness to move ahead with more confidence, with more elan, and on a wider scale toward a truly revolutionary renewal of our socialist homeland, all the more so because the specific program outlined in the speech is directly linked with the hopes and expectations inspired by the forthcoming 14th BCP Congress scheduled for the end of next year.**

The noticeably high degree of interest shown by the whole of society in the decisions of the recent party plenum, the election of the new general secretary, and his concluding speech at the plenum is a fact that undoubtedly imparts a positive charge. The whole nation's attention is focused on the most important problems of our contemporary life, problems upon which the rate and scope of our restructuring depend. This moment of radical change requires the full mobilization of all forces, in order to impart new dynamism to restructuring and overcome the elements of stagnation in the implementation of the revolutionary renewal, because the mere existence of a good and correct program is far from enough, and because, as has become crystal clear, in the period of almost 2 and ½ years that has elapsed no substantial breakthrough has been noted in any of the main directions of our work.

Comrade Petur Mladenov pointed out the following very clearly and forthrightly in this speech: **"Actually, comrades, many complicated problems accumulated in developing our economy, solving the problems of the domestic market, solving the social issues, solving the country's foreign currency and financial issues, and in our work with the people and the nation, i.e., virtually in all spheres of life. We shall openly and honestly speak about all this with the party and the people. We shall not gloss over things. We will call them by their real names. We have no other way."**

Here is the starting point for our present and future work—hence the obligatory realistic approach, the requirement for frankness [otkritost] and honesty, as an important prerequisite for pumping ozone into the social atmosphere, expanding internal party democracy and democratizing the whole of society, confirming glasnost, and really encouraging criticism and self-criticism in our everyday life.

As we head directly toward the 14th BCP Congress, and when we discuss the course of restructuring at the party meetings, all of us—both Communists and nonparty people—must be filled with the awareness of the exceptional responsibility imposed at this juncture on each and every one of us, our own collective, and our own

organization. The workers' class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia, all strata of society have an intimate interest in the fate of our native land and the state of the country, and everyone demands and insists that greater dynamism be imparted to restructuring, whose heart will be the acceleration and development by all possible means of democratization in all spheres of society, and the confirmation of glasnost as a principle of party and state policy. We must ensure maximum publicity in social life, not in words, but in deeds, and this presupposes that everything should be done openly in front of the people's eyes and under the people's control. There is a real requirement for us to create, by our joint efforts, conditions to enable true discussions to be held on the most complex and tricky issues of our development toward socialism, and for tolerance and patience to be shown toward different opinions, through which we will seek the most correct solutions for the further course of the restructuring of socialism in our country.

The people's intelligentsia, which is awaiting its own congresses, has an important role in implementing the processes of renewal, and the efforts of all its detachments and all honest creative people can only be of benefit to the common cause of construction. The unification of all the Bulgarian intelligentsia's forces and cadres around the platform of the revolutionary restructuring that is being carried out under the party's leadership is a prime prerequisite for obtaining results from the efforts, for further rallying the nation, and for the indestructible unity of the party and people.

The BCP has assumed a great responsibility toward the people and toward the world, namely to achieve a truly revolutionary renewal of socialism in Bulgaria. The party has defended the ideals of socialism and will continue to do so; it has unyieldingly campaigned for their realization in the life of the people, and will continue so to do. By this policy and standpoint our party is fulfilling its sacred duty both to the people and to progressive world society.

The strength of an idea or a policy lies in how far it has gripped the consciousness and governs the actions of the collectives and individuals. The recent BCP Central Committee plenum poses a great number of topics for reflection, demands a readjustment of intentions and a modification in style, and requires us to adopt a new attitude toward our own obligations. This should stand out in particular relief in the preparations now starting for the party accountability-election meetings and conferences. This campaign should be especially characterized by concrete work, instead of complacency, by its constructive approach and the clear definition of the future tasks, by its frankness and democracy, and by its atmosphere of comradely criticism and self-criticism. The plenum requires us to make an in-depth critical assessment of the course of the restructuring under way, and of the real contribution of every party organization and the leading party organs to qualitative renewal in society's material and intellectual life.

The times require us to submit to a pitiless analysis of what has been done, to call things by their true names, and to strongly accentuate what has been done badly or not done at all, specifying who is guilty of what and for what reasons, and taking effective measures to correct the situation. The dissatisfaction that has accumulated over the years from the unsolved complex problems, the difficulties in everyday life, and the unsatisfactory progress of restructuring must provide the motive for a meaningful discussion at the party meetings and conferences, a discussion that may not be pleasant for individuals. All this must be done while allowing scope for opinions that are sometimes diametrically opposed; an atmosphere of heated criticism and self-criticism cannot and must not do anything else than promote cohesion on a principled foundation and strengthen the unity of the party and people, because our party has always been and remains the vanguard, a leader of the processes of renewal. Now, when we must impart new dynamism to restructuring, the party is the only political force that heads and guides these processes.

The path that we have adopted is neither easy or smooth. The path requires intense work, dedication, faith, pertinacity, honest labor, and a high level of awareness.

We will achieve successes only when we all move along this path together and in unison.

For we are doing this for our own well-being, for the prosperity of our socialist homeland.

Trade Union Approves

AU1411214089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council B was held in Sofia this afternoon. It was chaired by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Trade Union Central Council.

A declaration was discussed and adopted stating that the 4-million-strong professional organization of working people in our country is in favor of true self-management and of investing the labor collectives and municipalities with real power.

The decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee P are in accordance with the interests and the aspirations of working people and are generally welcomed as a long-since-desired change.

We insist that the laws of the country should be unconditionally respected and observed, that the despicable practice of ruling by instructions, and teletyped messages should be discontinued, that an end should be put to irresponsible and arbitrary bureaucratic acts, which are confusing our economic activities and violating the rights and competiveness of collectives, managements, and organizations, the declaration states.

The present socioeconomic situation of the country in recent years urgently requires that trade unions should as

soon as possible assume their true responsibilities and that they should defend the labor rights and the socio-economic interests of the working people.

Further on Unions

AU1511075789 Sofia BTA in English
2241 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—A declaration of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions was circulated here today which reads that the resolutions of the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] held on November 10 correspond to the interests and strivings of working people and was met nationwide as a long-expected change.

People are filled with hopes, the declaration goes on to say, and are expecting urgent and radical actions for abolishment of the command and administrative system, for real and active participation of the working people in the process of restructuring, for openness, pluralism and freedom of the personality, for building of a modern and democratic state, committed to the rule of law.

It is stressed that the complex problems and negative trends which have amassed in the development of the economy and the distortions in the social justice are exacerbating tensions in society. These issues must not be avoided any more and the truth must not be kept silent.

What we need now is common sense and realism, wide democratic consideration of the new decisions, the declaration reads. Bulgaria has a historic chance to carry the process of restructuring without going through social cataclysms (for which the price is unavoidably high).

The document stresses that the Bulgarian trade unions are for real self-management and empowering of the working teams and the communities.

It is added that the socioeconomic situation established in the country over the last years makes imperative the urgent undertaking by the trade unions of their responsibilities: to protect the labour rights and socioeconomic interests of the working people from the various social and professional layers.

In the nearest future, the declaration reads, the Bulgarian trade unions are ready and will come with their position on the vital issues of the socioeconomic development and a new trade union platform of action, facing the everyday needs and interests of the working man.

A conviction is expressed that only through profoundly renewed, regenerated and independent actions will the Bulgarian trade unions gain the confidence of the people and will become their mainstay. The evidence of such changes will be given with the forthcoming elections. X

X X

In conclusion, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions appealed to the working people, the trade union members and all trade union bodies and organizations to show high civic conscientiousness, responsibility and activeness at this crucial political moment and show everywhere their support to the activation and further dynamics of restructuring in the country.

Mladenov, Intelligentsia Hold Talks in Sofia

AU1411211089 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting is taking place at the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee headquarters in Sofia between Comrade Petur Mladenov and representatives of the intelligentsia from different creative spheres and of different generations. An animated and open-minded discussion on restructuring problems has been going on for over 4 hours.

The discussion is based on Comrade Petur Mladenov's opening statement reviewing the results of the recent BCP Central Committee Plenum. He again recalled that the principles forming the basis of the fundamental restructuring designed to build a socialism aiming first at serving man, and for democracy, glasnost, and equality before the law, are expected to be implemented.

Already 17 of 24 the speakers who had announced their intention to take the floor have delivered their statements.

The following speakers expressed their views: Radoy Ralin, Angel Balevski, Mladen Isaev, Diko Fuchedzhiev, Svetiln Rusev, Veselin Andreev, Nikolay Genchev, Stefan Prodev, Petur Beron, Tsvetana Maneva, Kiril Vasilev, Asen Khadzhiyolov, Panka Babukova, Nikolay Iribadzhakov, Georgi Dzhagarov, Yovcho Topalov, and Nikola Popov.

All of them, without exception, stressed the requirement for a thorough analysis of our society's situation, for purifying society from manifestations which are alien to socialism, for the unification of all forces and particularly of the intelligentsia, and for the construction of a democratic and civilized state with unmistakable, socialist ideals.

The meeting at the BCP Central Committee continues.

'Dialogue' With Intellectuals

AU1511080489 Sofia BTA in English
2248 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], met with representatives of the intelligentsia.

In a frank conversation Mr Mladenov stated the course of the BCP to democratization of social life and building of a modern socialist state, committed to the rule of law.

He placed special stress at the BCP resolution to carry a dialogue with all layers of the population in the course of building of modern socialist society. It was said that the social and intellectual advance of the country, corresponding to the modern realities and needs, is possible solely through restructuring important characteristic features of which are the freedom of creative searches and pluralism of the opinions.

The participants in the meeting backed the resolutions of the November Plenum of the CC of the BCP for deep restructuring based on democracy, openness and revolutionary renewal.

The speakers, among which were Radoy Ralin, Svetlin Rusev, Veselin Andreev, Prof. Nikolay Genchev, Stefan Prodev, Petur Beron, Acad. Kiril Vasilev, Georgi Dzhagarov, Acad. Nikola Popov, Blaga Dimitrova, Nedyalko Yordanov, Assoc. Prof. Petko Simeonov, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Georgi Mishev, Mladen Kiselov, Pavel Matev, Nikolay Khaytov, Iskra Panova, spoke sincerely and sometimes critically about the complex problems in the economic, social and cultural sphere. A common stance was formed about the need of initiative, civic courage and responsibility when seeking solutions to pending issues, of wide-range national unity of action as warrants for the success of the processes of renewal.

Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission Meets

AU1411213689 Sofia BTA in English
1904 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—Bulgarian MPs stressed today the significance of development of relations with the regional organizations of Western Europe and confirmed their willingness to work for the strengthening of these relations.

At a joint session held here of the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy and of the leading committee of the Bulgarian Inter-Parliamentary group a stress was made that the new political thinking and the ideas for building of a common European home create prerequisites for development of relations with the European Parliament, with the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, with the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly and with the Assembly of the Western European Council.

The major changes taking place in all spheres of life in Bulgaria, an expression of which is the National Assembly group for contacts with regional parliamentary organizations of Western Europe, will doubtless contribute to place relations to a stable base in the name of the better acquaintance among peoples, of active exchange of material and intellectual values.

The MPs proposed that the parliamentary groups of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the BZNS (Bulgarian Agrarian Party) will expand their contacts with the individual party factions of the European Parliament and with some of its individual members. The importance is taken into consideration of the exchange of delegations and the first positive steps in this direction are made.

Possibilities were considered for granting the status of "specially invited" at the consultative session of the Council of Europe to the National Assembly of Bulgaria.

The MPs expressed their support to the Soviet Union Parliamentary Group address to MPs of the world related to one of the priority issues of disarmament: the chemical weapons ban. In relation with that a high estimation was given to Soviet and US initiatives in the sphere of chemical disarmament, adopted lately. The significance was stressed of the Paris conference and of the international conference in Canberra of representatives of governments and of industry on issues related with this type of weapons for mass annihilation, for forming of a wide international consensus for an early conclusion of a convention on their ban.

When discussing the appeal of the Senate of the National Assembly of Afghanistan to all parliaments in the world from October this year the MPs shared the concern expressed in it from the constant breach of the Geneva agreements. The will of the Afghan MPs was backed to stop the war and renew Afghanistan, for national reconciliation and peaceful settlement of the issues.

The session was chaired by Mr Milko Balev, chairman of the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy.

Commission Analyzes Ecological Situation

AU1411211389 Sofia BTA in English
1841 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—The ecological state of Sofia region was subjected today to a critical analysis by the National Assembly Standing Commission on Protection and Regeneration of the Environment.

The atmosphere of 32 of this region's territory [as received] is polluted by noxious emissions going 1.5 times above the country's average. The size is increasing of eroded, acidic, salted and over-damp soil, some of the soil is polluted by heavy metals.

The MPs voiced their concern over the facts submitted at the session of the commission and made concrete proposals to the regional municipal council and the municipal national councils to be more active when solving the most urgent ecological issues in the sphere.

Special attention in the statements was rendered to the exacerbated ecological situation in the regions of the towns of Srednogorie, Bobov Dol, Razlog and Pernik.

The members of the commission backed the proposals of the municipal national council to stop the production of cellulose and the production of fodder yeast in Razlog and to start the building of centralized thermal supply in the town. It was proposed that due measures be taken for

the purification of residual waters of the Georgi Dimitrov technological copper dressing combine in the town of Srednogorie.

The necessity was stressed that the regional and municipal national councils with the assisstance of the regional inspectorate on environment protection, the hygiene and epidemic inspectorate and other competent bodies exercise permanent control on the fulfillment of the programs for improving of the ecological situation in the region.

The MPs expressed a stance on the hydroprojects "Rila" and "Mesta" and proposed that representatives of other commissions of the National Assembly be included in the working group founded for their survey.

Dissident on Demonstrations, Turkish Exodus

PM0911161489 Paris
LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 31 Oct 89 p 13

[Interview with Kostadin Ivanov Georgiev, general secretary of the Bulgarian Independent Human Rights Association, by Georges Dupoy; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Kostadin Ivanov Georgiev, general secretary of the Bulgarian Independent Human Rights Association, answered LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS' questions on the recent demonstrations in Sofia. He was a philosophy lecturer fired in 1986 for criticizing the government's policy of Turkish assimilation.

K.I. Georgiev: The whole Bulgarian population was surprised by the brutality of the way in which Thursday's demonstration was repressed. This attitude taken by the police is not consistent with the image which the Bulgarian Government is trying to present abroad. There is something which I do not understand behind all that.

On the other hand, Saturday's demonstration in Sofia's southern park took place in a good-humored atmosphere. Police were present, as was the official press, but there were no provocations. We were able to collect around 50 new members that day. There were many young people among the hundreds of sympathizers who attended the meeting.

LE QUOTIDIEN: What do you think about Zhivkov's speech on a multiparty system?

K.I. Georgiev: I do not attach any special importance to those statements, despite some promising remarks. We have been told so many lies for so many years that I will wait and see. The comrades with whom I have discussed this subject share my skepticism.

I have no opinion about Zhivkov's future. Any political forecast is impossible in this country, which is traditionally unpredictable. However, I think that the party congress has been brought forward primarily because of the current situation in the communist world, in the neighboring countries, and because Bulgaria will be forced to fall into step.

LE QUOTIDIEN: Is the population interested in the situation in the East European countries?

K.I. Georgiev: The population is closely following events in the fraternal countries, particularly through the Soviet press and television. Our association has just published the first issue of a bulletin which was distributed to the foreign journalists attending the CSCE meeting. It gives a review of the human rights situation in our country, and a presentation of our movement. The second issue is due to be published in October.

LE QUOTIDIEN: What is the position with regard to the exodus of Bulgarians of Turkish origin?

K.I. Georgiev: I hope that a solution can be found at the bilateral meeting currently being held in Kuwait. However, the Sofia government has made a basic mistake. Bulgarians and Turks have lived together for centuries; but this summer's events, during which almost 300,000 people emigrated to Turkey, will leave scars. They aroused the Buglarians' deep-seated distrust of the Turks. However, these events will also create problems of coexistence with Turkey—problems which hitherto did not exist. Finally, the circumstances of this sudden exodus are very bad for our country's image abroad. Some people who emigrated this summer have come back to live here. However, our government's erroneous policy has caused irreparable damage.

Role of Intellectuals, Restructuring Examined

AU0711151489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The Responsible Role of the Intelligentsia Under Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] submitted the new concept on the further construction of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria—a document of decisive importance for our society's future—to the July Plenum of BCP Central Committee in 1987. Considering the party's historical experience, the July Concept provides great opportunities for the perfection of all our society. Resulting from the objective dialectic of the past historical development and from the requirements of a new economic, political, social, and intellectual situation, restructuring is a thoroughly revolutionary process. It is a turning point and involves not only one, or two, but all spheres of social life. It is directed toward an acceleration of social progress on the basis of the most recent achievements of scientific-technical revolution.

All these things are related to a new idea of socialism and principally new theoretical concepts, to a renewal of theory as a means of enriching social practice. The July Concept opened a totally new view on the future of

socialism, on the goals, and meaning of the radical changes which we are now beginning to implement. The July Concept equipped all our society with a scientifically based new model of resolving problems emerging at this complicated stage of our social development, established its priorities, and adopted revolutionary methods of achieving the lofty goals of socialist revolution.

The new vision of the BCP on the role, place, and importance of socialist democracy, on the assertion of socialist self-management as a supreme form of socialism democracy and as an expression of its basic essence, as the most reliable approach to the construction and functioning of our new society is the core of the July Concept on socialism in our country. [passage omitted]

The BCP posed the question of the democratization of our society by parting from the historical mission of our social system, from the understanding that our society cannot develop without a comprehensive expansion of socialist democracy. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, if we should search for the characteristic features of restructuring, we would undoubtedly touch upon the question of intellectualization, upon the requirement for a true cultural revolution as well, aimed at the intellectual and moral development of society. The chief strategic task of our society is to create a diversified, intellectually rich, ethical society, and to establish the necessary conditions for its full implementation.

In coping with this task, we undeniably touch upon the intellectual sphere—science, education, arts, culture, and the intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

The new historical role which is assigned to the intellectual sphere according to the July Concept in fact is a recognition of its role and importance as a powerful factor of social progress. The pace and intensity of the changes in all spheres of our social life are to the greatest extent determined by our intellectual, cultural, and moral potential. The special, intellectually constructive mission of the intelligentsia is manifesting itself. [passage omitted]

The awareness of political changes is a complex and often prolonged process of fundamental restructuring of individual and social consciousness, of social psychological elements, of the prevailing system of values, norms, and rules of behavior. The exceptionally responsible task of the intelligentsia is to contribute so that every individual should have access to the meaning, goals, and strategy of the July Concept; it is to involve millions of people in the restructuring process. Without achieving unanimity of thought and a general consensus of our society rallied around the July Concept, it is impossible to achieve unity of action, which is synonymous with social progress. [passage omitted]

The intelligentsia has a great social responsibility for the orientation of restructuring toward more socialism. The intelligentsia, owing to the nature of its work and on the basis of its knowledge, which it is systematically enriching, is in a position to become acquainted with the requirements of the objective social rules, to give meaning to the logic of the historical process. The intelligentsia has the right and obligation to assist the other social groups, helping them to understand the party's strategic thought.

The struggle between new and old ideas, between progressive and conservative factors has not subsided under restructuring. It has just become even more difficult and more complicated. Certain circles in the West are now particularly eager to speculate on restructuring and are trying to take advantage of it for undermining socialism, for dismantling the existing social system in our country. For this reason, it is no coincidence that the intelligentsia is a special target of their attention. By flattering our intelligentsia, the circles in question are trying to convert it into an enemy of socialism as a whole. Consciously or unconsciously certain representatives of our intelligentsia become promoters of such intentions, and are gradually leaning toward antisocialist positions.

The battle for the people's minds is still begin waged. As a matter of fact, under the conditions of new political thinking, of de-ideologization of interstate relations, and considering the fact that socialism is opening up to the world and the world is opening up to socialism, this struggle is becoming even sharper, more dynamic, and more intense. For precisely this reason, the intelligentsia is responsible for consolidating the positions of restructuring in the consciousness of the masses. The bold theoretical pursuit of our intellectuals and the solutions they propose for topical problems, their creative, new approach to qualitatively new problems and processes of our epoch from the positions of consolidating socialism and defending its interests are urgent social requirements today.

Our party has always attached great importance to the role and place of the intellectual sphere in the life of our society for the sake of social progress. The contribution of artists and cultural figures to our development is also considerable. The real achievements of our socialist culture, its growing prestige in the world, and its role in creating a new intellectual and ethical atmosphere in all our society are undeniable successes and give evidence of the correct and fruitful nature of the cultural policy adopted by the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The fundamental changes in our intellectual sphere, related to the social-state and state-social principle, to the consolidation of qualitatively new forms for enriching and further developing intellectual values are the results of this policy. As a result of this, the topical requirements toward the intelligentsia are not prompted by social dissatisfaction with its past achievements, but are rather a response to the different historical realities and new social requirements. [passage omitted]

Revolutionary renewal requires a fundamental improvement of political and ideological work in the intellectual sphere, it demands that the militant strength of party

organizations should be consolidated, and the vanguard role of the Communists should be enhanced. The primary task of the Communists is to contribute to the oganization of self-management in the intellectual sphere, to the accelerated development of inner-party democracy, as a prerequisite for comprehensive democratization of intellectual life among others. The primary party organizations are called upon to prepare the atmosphere for great creative efforts, for competent and businesslike work, so that they may play the role of a decisive factor in mobilizing the collectives.

The forthcoming congresses of national education, science, higher education, and culture shall undeniably play an important role in the renewal of our intellectual sphere on the basis of the general principles of restructuring, determined by the July Concept and in accordance with the specific nature of intellectual work. They should by all means promote and emphasize the new role of the intelligentsia under the conditions of restructuring.

The future of our national culture and of our entire society shall be determined by the image of the intelligentsia. It is its duty and obligation to direct all its efforts to highly effective work for the sake of enhancing the people's cultural standards and educating a comprehensively devoloped, intellectually accomplished individual, for the sake of creating all necessary prerequisites for his full self-implementation.

Possibility of Socialist Common Market Viewed

AU0711153989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 45, 6 Nov 89 pp 1, 7

[Prof Dr Georgi Stoyanov article: "Will a New Socialist Common Market Be Born?"]

[Excerpts] CEMA countries' economic cooperation has its history and unquestionable successes, but also its difficulties and shortcomings. The road we have traveled until now shows the great importance of this cooperation in anything related to the socialist countries' economic successes. At the same time, the shortcomings that emerged created the necessity of restructuring the mechanism of socialist integration and CEMA as an international organization, and mark new directions of cooperation. [passage omitted]

Now CEMA member countries are facing the complex task of programming the construction of the entire structure of the new common market. One must openly and clearly point out this task's difficulties and unconventional character. Its solution requires the coordination of many tendencies, opinions, and approaches that now exist in CEMA countries.

Some of the basic characteristics of the future common market can be marked in general terms. First of all, it will be a socialist market, in other words, a market of states guided in their international economic relations by principles and forms that are characteristic of the socialist society. The market must be created with the voluntary participation of the countries, while observing the principles of mutual benefit and equality. It must have an open character.

On the one hand it must allow the possibility of other socialist countries joining its framework, and, on the other, it cannot develop without relations and cooperation with the world division of labor, the EEC, and the markets of other world regions. Simultaneously, the socialist common market will have its characteristics and specific stimuli, which will be created by the mutual preferences of the participating states, but without discriminating against other (third) countries.

The common market should afford the possibility of including all the advantages of the market economy in its framework. It would be necessary to create a broad space for the activity of commodity-financial relations, as well as conditions for the efficient activity of CEMA countries' commodity producers. It is important to note the interests of all, and thus afford the market stimuli for its own development. The elements of the market must be created gradually, without awaiting instructions "from the top." Thus we shall form a uniform economic realm.

In order to create conditions for the functioning of the common market, it is necessary to sign an international treaty, or several treaties and agreements, and thus create the appropriate state-legal preconditions for establishing the common market. At the same time, we must note the experience and achievements of the CEMA countries' cooperation until today. For example, the utilization of more substantial specialized production in the separate countries would have great importance. On this foundation we could develop unique socialist transnationalism. Scientific-technical products, such as technologies, licenses, patents, and so forth, must be exchanged in the common market as commodities. Naturally, the prices used in trading in the market, cannot be formed on the basis of the present CEMA system. They must from now on take international prices into consideration. It will be necessary to develop credit and foreign currency-financial relations, and gradually form first partial, and subsequently, full convertibility of the countries' currencies.

One must not underestimate the difficulties already emerging at the initial stage of creating the market. In this sphere, for example, one must take into consideration the nonparticipation of one of the countries in the agreement on creating the common market. It also is important to take into consideration the unequal economic development of the CEMA countries and their differing readiness to participate in the common market. Certain processes that are developing in Poland and Hungary also pose serious questions. The state leaders of the Hungarian Republic, basing themselves on CEMA's inefficiency, think that Hungary must join the EEC. In addition, they do not clarify how relations with the CEMA countries will be conducted in the future. The new Polish premier, a "Solidarity" member, stated that

the government he heads will observe the country's obligations toward CEMA. This means that the obligation about Poland's participation in the socialist common market will be observed. However, there are voices which are saying different things.

It is clear that complex problems are emerging and await solution. However, taking into consideration that the establishment of the capitalist countries' common market was also formed under difficult conditions and with many contradictions among them, the problems we pointed out earlier must be viewed soberly and without excessive pessimism. One can express the conviction that regardless of the difficulties, the socialist common market, as an answer to a pressing necessity, will be created in the future, and it will develop through various transitional states.

Mladenov Telegram to Gorbachev Reported

AU1411195389 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] sent Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU the following cable:

"Dear Mr Gorbachev,

"I would like to thank most cordially the Central Committee of the CPSU and you personally for the warm and sincere wishes in relation with my election for secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP.

"Under the qualitatively new conditions the Bulgarian Communists thoroughly realize the extremely responsible tasks, related with turning of socialist Bulgaria to a modern democratic country committed to the rule of law, with the further establishment of the BCP as a political vanguard of society.

"In seeking of the decisions greatly necessary and corresponding to the conditions in our country we will gain from the positive experience of the CPSU in restructuring and we will contribute to the strengthening of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty and the CEMA.

"I would like to confirm, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, our firm determination that our future interaction with the CPSU and the USSR should in future, too, open up new prospects for the prosperity of the Bulgarian and the Soviet people, for the development of socialism and strengthening of peace."

BTA Correspondent Surveys GDR Developments

AU1411140589 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 46, 13 Nov 89 p 7

[Article by BTA correspondent Khuben Khubenov "specially for POGLED" in Berlin: "German Debating Republic"]

[Text] Events in the GDR have developed during the past 3 weeks at a breakneck speed unparalleled in any other country that has begun the road toward restructuring. The political landscape has been transformed literally in days, and the political observers, holding their breath, are continuously providing fresh assessments of the situation. Someone coined the name "German Debating Republic" for the GDR. Proving their political maturity, these days the people of the country are flatly insisting on one thing: new modern socialism.

"The GDR of today needs a socialism that is economically efficient, socially just, politically democratic, and morally pure, with its face completely turned toward the people." This was how Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party [SED], summed up the will of the people in his report to the plenum held at the end of last week. It is necessary to develop a new strategy for society's development, which can only take place along the path of nationwide dialogue and as a result of the sovereign decision of the majority. This strategy will undoubtedly be based upon an in-depth political and economic reform.

The first steps have already been made toward political reform, through the drafting of a number of important legislative bills and the resignation of the previous Politburo and government. The SED's program of action for the coming months unambiguously emphasizes that socialist democracy will continue in the future to be largely determined by the activity of the socialist parliament and the government elected by it, while the responsibilities of the party and state will be rigidly separated. With the aim of constructing a socialist law-governed state, the People's Chamber will have to draft and adopt a number of laws in the near future that will guarantee the citizens' constitutional rights and liberties: a law on meetings and association, a law on the press, and an electoral law. The SED Central Committee also proposes that the activities of the chairman of the State Council, president of the People's Chamber, and chairman of the Council of Ministers should be limited by legislation to two elected terms of office per person.

There is no doubt that the SED will be the chief motivating force in the process of restructuring. However, it was stressed many times at the plenum that the party will only be able to lead the renewal of society if it also renews itself. It is necessary to react flexibly to the continuously changing conditions, renounce administration from above, actively take part in a broad dialogue with the whole of society, and demonstrate glasnost in the adoption and implementation of all decisions at the various "levels" of the party hierarchy. During the next few months a new party statute is to be drafted, which will be submitted for approval to the 12th SED Congress in May next year, as well as a new party program.

Democratization within the party, renewal in society, reforms in the economy. The SED's new economic strategy that was adopted at the plenum is based as much on the country's previous economic achievements as on

in-depth economic changes. These changes will not merely represent a "further improvement" of the elements of the previous system, but will create new dynamic and flexible structures that are able to continuously renew themselves. People's property will continue to form the economic basis of socialism in the GDR. Central state planning will remain in force. However, important elements of the market economy will be introduced into the national economy in order to create a socialist planned economy that is market-oriented.

The policy followed for many years of granting large state subsidies for a number of food products and goods will be reviewed. Everything that does not conform to the socialist principle of distribution according to the end results of labor or that leads to wastefulness and speculation will be eliminated. The long-standing striving toward economic independence in all fields is also acknowledged as erroneous, and this will give way to a much closer linkup of the country within the system of the international division of labor.

In contrast to certain Western commentators, the SED does not regard the in-depth reforms proclaimed at the plenum as the implementation of the flood of prescriptions for changes that Western politicians and mass media are offering the SED. These reforms are the fruit of the people's will, and will neither erode nor eliminate socialism on German soil. Having been made an irreversible reality, they will only make socialism more productive and more attractive.

Greetings Message to Poland on Anniversary

AU1311135489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] The State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have sent a greetings message to the Polish president and to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic on the 71st anniversary of restoring the Polish state. The message wishes the Polish people most cordial greetings and wishes for happiness, prosperity, and successes.

We highly value the traditional friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries and peoples, and we are confident that they will continue to devvelop in the interest of the Bulgarian and Polish peoples, peace, security, and social progress in Europe, the message reads.

Visa Pacts With Austria, Scandinavia Canceled

AU1311201489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Announcement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department—date and place not given]

[Text] The adoption of amendments and addenda to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports and their coming into force as of 1 September 1989 provided Bulgarian citizens with vast opportunities for traveling, residing abroad, and returning to Bulgaria. The granting of these rights and their legalization are expressions of the law-based trends of democratization in our society and fully conform with the international obligations assumed by our country.

Bulgarian citizens were informed in detail by the mass media on the conditions under which they may travel and stay abroad and on Bulgaria's international agreements in the sector of visa relations.

Being acquainted with the special features of the visa regulations of different countries and the requirements they impose on Bulgarian citizens wishing to visit these countries is of essential importance for their preliminary preparations and for guaranteeing that their trips abroad will be without problems.

In this connection, the Consular Department is authorized to declare that as of 11 August 1989, Norway, and as of 6 November 1989, Austria have unilaterally and partially canceled the validity of the agreements on eliminating visas signed by these two countries with Bulgaria.

In the future, Bulgarian citizens traveling to or through Norway or Austria for private reasons with ordinary foreign travel passports must have the necessary permit for entrance to or transit through the territories of these countries or must obtain the respective entrance or transit visas.

The same applies to Sweden, which, as of 1 November 1989, unilaterally canceled the validity of the Bulgarian-Swedish agreement on mutually eliminating visas, while Denmark interrupted the validity of the same agreement for an indefinite period.

All Bulgarian citizens traveling to or through Sweden or Denmark must have a permit for entering or passing through these countries and they must obtain the respective entrance or transit visas.

The visas for Norway and Denmark can be obtained at the Swedish Embassy in Sofia.

Detailed information on the conditions and requirements for travel to the aforementioned countries can be obtained by Bulgarian citizens at the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Danish-Bulgarian Joint Venture Launched

22000001 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 31 Oct 89 p 22

[Text] On Tuesday, 31 October, at the Foreign Ministry in Copenhagen, JL Forklift in Lemvig will sign the first contract for a joint venture between a firm in Denmark and an enterprise in Bulgaria.

According to Jens Laursen, managing director of JL Forklift Truck: "It is a question of a contract in the million range, which will not only strengthen our firm in

the domestic market after 1992, but will also substantially improve the firm's position in the world market." He also says that Bulgaria is a country that, by virtue of the liberalization currently under way in Eastern Europe, is increasingly opening up to the rest of the world. "One of the first concrete examples is the signing of this joint-venture contract that has been negotiated in recent weeks," stated Jens Laursen.

Adamec Addresses Federal Assembly

LD1411135389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1205 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Speech by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to the 15th joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 14 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, esteemed Comrade President, esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Federal Assembly, esteemed Deputies, esteemed guests.

I have been asked by the government to give you an account of the implementation of the policy statement of 8 November 1988. In the course of 1 year, already for the 3d time, we are submitting to the highest representative body an important report. In preparing it, we tried to ensure that it truthfully reflects the pulse and rhythm of our society and that it correctly expresses the needs of our citizens.

In this we proceeded from the conclusions of the last four meetings of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, from the standpoints and recommendations of the Central Committee of the national front of the CSSR. One month before, we provided written documents to the deputies, which summarized the government's course of action in implementing the policy statement, including the legislative measures adopted. This enables one, in the follow-up on the informative report on the development of the national economy of June this year, to comment only on the main issues. We took into account submissions and questions made by deputies and took a stand on them. At the same time, we regard it as useful to show some intentions for the period ahead.

What is the balance sheet of the past year? Was it good or not? Could we have done more? Did we adhere to the program approved last year? Did we succeed in drawing the right conclusions from the criticism of the past; and did we do so by practical deeds? Did we succeed in expressing to the fullest extent our constitutional responsibility by a well thought-out and consistant application of the powers that have been entrusted to us?

We are not claiming the right to give a final and exhaustive answer. Only the future development will show many things. Nonetheless, certain facts are indisputable. We are fulfilling the commitment to secure the living standard attained and a better satisfaction of the needs of our people. From the very beginning, we have been conscious of possible pitfalls and risks, but the complexities of this short period have exceeded the original expectations. We are not hiding the fact that we have not been successful in everything, as we desired. The world around us has changed substantially during that period, and it has not been easy to come to terms with it. Despite the difficulties in making the transition to the new economic mechanism, we have not retreated. On the contrary, we have accelerated its introduction by 1 year.

What kind of conclusions can one draw from the past 12 months? In the struggle to remedy shortcomings and improve the standard of managerial work, it has been shown that the roots of the present problems are of a long-term character. The years of growing but unresolved difficulties have made a deep mark not only on the state of the economy but also the state of the socialist state, working morale, and thinking. The government is becoming more and more conscious of the need for high exactingness in consistantly implementing the program for social restructuring.

We regard our policy statement as an open document. We see, in a sober appraisal of the state from which we proceed, that a realistic assessment of the results and possibilities are prerequisites for the set targets to be fulfilled.

Comrades, restructuring has placed at the center of the government's attention the need to satisfy man's needs, to implement in practice his social, economic, and political rights in unity with the other aspect: the ability to win over the general public for the government's policy, to motivate all social groups to actively share in shaping, implementing, and scrutinizing our intentions. We do not only see our bonds with the people in that they can, without obstacles, assert their demands, but also in that they participate in decisionmaking concerning the common cause and that they regard the government's program as their own.

We know well that the level of social guarantees decides in many ways confidence in the government's intentions. They are deeply rooted in a one-sided, egalitarian, and protectionist shape. There also lies in it the force of habit to regard the improvement of living standards more as some kind of gift from above than as a result of one's own endeavors.

One of the priorities of our policy statement is the improvement in the domestic market. People want their hard-earned money to buy promptly and everywhere goods according to their own wishes, and this is in full accord with the essense of socialism. We have frankly said, however, that the satisfaction of such legitimate demands does not depend on one's goodwill, but is a reflection of the overall economic situation.

During the past year, we have, along with the national governments, adopted a number of measures to secure the purchase of technologies to increase the manufacture of goods in short supply. We have also tackled the balancing of supply and demand in selected kinds of goods by special imports. It is not within our capacity to bring about an improvement in the whole range of goods. Certain kinds of goods, however, should not be absent from the shops. For instance, while we are accelerating the introduction of gas into households, there must be enough gas stoves, [word indistinct], and other things. We have instructed the Ministry of Metallurgy, Machine

Building, and Electrical Engineering to remedy the situation by next year at the latest. We have also appealed to production cooperatives to help tackle the situation.

We regard the criticism of the sale of cars as justified. I would like to brief you about the car supply situation. Around 135,000 cars wil be sold in our country this year, out of which 59,000 will be Skoda Favorits. The same number of cars is anticipated to be sold next year, but the number of Skoda Favorits will amount to as many as 100,000. We are also negotiating further imports of cars from South Korea. We know that we are not yet capable of fully satisfying the demand for cars. We are drawing up concepts for the development of the car industry in Czechoslovakia, in which we want to create conditions for the manufacture of 250,000 cars annually at the minimum.

We are concious of the fact that the application of the new management rules in trade organizations is only beginning to take root and that the measures adopted until now can only have a partial and temporary influence and that they, at present, are bringing only limited results. One cannot permanently replace the insufficient effectiveness of economic incentives in the manufacturing and trade sector by just anything. The concern to ensure that there is permanently a sufficient amount of ordinary goods available is the common task of both manufacturing and trade enterprises. Notions that we will resolve matters quickly and easily by way of command-type instructions or by administrative prohibitions do not correspond with the truth. There were in the past many attempts that did not reckon with the interests of producers, shop personnel, and customers. They, however, ended—as is well known—without enduring results. Here, too, we must not fail to create a climate of enterpreneurial activity. To bring this about one thing is needed: to ensure that goods once again become goods; that the market becomes a true market, money becomes money, and trade becomes real trade. The distortions of these truths have caused enormous damage to the detriment of honest people and to the benefit of speculators.

We regard the action of those enterprises which are attempting to tackle their own management shortcomings by making concealed increases in retail prices and by reducing the production of cheap goods as inadmissible, and it is not enough to condemn it morally. We agree with the deputies' views that the trend of the price level be monitored systematically, that it be submitted to a well qualified scrutiny, and that the data acquired be taken into account also in social security.

The basic reason for this irresponsible attitude of producers is the abuse of their monopolistic position. We are resolved to change the situation by applying economic pressure more broadly, in urgent cases through state orders. The national committees, too, must promote the interests of consumers more energetically and in their fight against dishonesty make fuller use of their lawful rights.

In the interest of the domestic market we have taken steps, albeit reluctantly, to restrict individual export of consumer goods by foreign visitors.

In the policy statement, we committed ourselves to encourage the supply of services and their extension, services provided by organizations to citizens. Local manufacturing, service enterprises, and produciton cooperatives are already operating in accordance with the new economic rules. New service enterprises, managed by municipal and local national committees, have been set up. Regulations governing the economic activity of enterprises employing a small number of people have been radically simplified. Opportunities for individual enterprises have up to now, however, been little used, especially in regard to the sectors where there is the greatest social need for such activity, although we have made such activity more advantageous by making tax and credit concessions. It appears that there is still a great deal that needs clarification in this area. Dogmatic notions that link the essence of socialism with the nationalization of every small workshop and shop are still exerting a negative influence. The potential of trade skill and enterpreneurial activity is not being sufficiently appreciated. This cannot go on.

The government supports the initiative of the Union of Cooperative Farmers, to whom it wants to appeal in connection with the 11th Congress of the Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, to expand the retail sale of agricultural produce, fruit and vegetables, as well as products made in their own workshops. We regard as an especially valuable contribution the attempt to expand small-scale enterprise in the service sector and the reestablishment of abolished sandpits, quarries, limestone works, brickworks, sawmills, plants manufacturing building materials, and requisites.

The Federal Assembly's committees have at their disposal the draft principles of the concept of the state's housing policy. Its debate at the Chamber of the People brought many submissions, which will be used in drawing up the final version. No one really questions the necessity for a more rational management of the housing stock and for siting the housing construction more effectively. Views, however, differ on the practical application of the principles of the new economic mechanism in this area. This is natural, because we realize the seriousness of intervention in a deeply ingrained practice: in the past 3 decades, drafts that were prepared were postponed several times under the pretext of practical complexity and political sensitivity. The unhealthy stability has had its effect also in this area. Therefore, tackling the problem now is more difficult. Let me illustrate this with an example on the waste of heat and water, which probably has no precedent in advanced industrial states. To overcome the anonymity of users requires the fastest possible introduction of the measures of consumption. Something has already been done in this regard, but we failed to bring the intention to its logical conclusion.

Overall, there is greater need for introducing into housing management greater flexibility, order, and accountability; so warn partial checks of the current state of affairs. We support the enterprises' demands to have greater possibilities of tackling their employees' housing problems. We also envisage that citizens will share to a greater degree in paying for the costs connected with housing. Naturally, we differentiate in assessing people's ability to pay, taking due regard of overall living costs.

The state of the maintenance and repair of housing is exceptionally serious, close to calamity. The national governments must fundamentally and in a new way reassess the existing structure of building capacities, as well as the position of housing enterprises. We cannot go on any longer with the practice of mere promises, and, at the same time, not be willing to change anything of substance. Along with this it is necessary to focus to a greater degree on the modernization of housing, with which neither the national committees nor building organizations have coped.

We also expect improvement from the sale of apartments to private ownership, which has turned mere renters into stewards [hospodar], having transferred a part of the concern about maintenance to users.

Interest is also significantly growing in the construction of family houses on more advantageous conditions, which we decided to initiate in July this year. Regrettably, there persists a shortage of many kinds of building materials; the elimination of which has already been discussed by the national governments. The situation, however, has not improved, and because of this we are preparing a more radical remedy—even at the cost of temporarily slowing down the pace of work in some large construction projects. In order to ensure that there are not only mere good intentions to help people acquire good quality housing, the national committees must also use much greater initiative in providing land for housing and utilities.

We, however, have great worries with the low performance of the building industry. We have dealt several times this year with the serious situation in this important sector, but almost nothing has changed. The national governments must assess the results of the current year and prepare a specific program for the consolidation and restructuring of our entire construction industry.

At the 14th joint session of both chambers of the Federal Assembly, some deputies made serious comments about the provisions for the needs of the health service, education, and culture. We are conscious of considerable reserves in the unnecessarily complicated system of management, the disproportionate use of manpower and resources. We regard it as correct to provide maximal help and support to these sectors, while on the other hand to demand from them substantially greater contributions than hitherto. We see the size of remuneration in these sectors as a truly social problem.

Possibly, the most criticism concerns the population's state of health. We will not put up with its unfavorable development. In October of this year, we, in cooperation with the national governments, adopted an extensive system of measures for the improvement of the people's health care. It set out in a new way the question of its all-society character, also including the living and working environment, nutrition, and lifestyle. There will be some changes in the structure of our health care strengthening the first line of defense, contact with patients. The detection and utilization of local reserves of facilities are coming to the foreground, as well as the increase of citizens' participation in financing some medical services. The strengthening of prevention must contribute, together with a more effective education and the state policy in the sphere of physical culture and sports, aimed at the development of its mass character and leisure forms.

The increase of prices of various medical equipment, medicine, and raw materials in the world is causing various difficulties in our country too. More so, because raw materials are mostly only available in advanced capitalist states. It is not easy to come to terms with it even within the framework of medical establishments or in the state budget. However, we consider the priority provisions for the medical services' needs to be a permanent matter, and thus it was decided to release from defense savings 749 million korunas this year and 990 million korunas next year to satisfy the most important needs, above all medicine and equipment. National governments must ensure the most useful utilization of these considerable resources.

In the first ½ of next year, we are also planning a wage adjustment in some categories of medical staff. Next year the government will return again to health service problems. We will examine long-term prospects of pharmaceutical production, the best development of its organization and management, and the creation of resources of the ever increasing cost of health care.

On the basis of an analysis of the educational system we have adopted concrete conclusions as to how to remove the criticized shortcomings in education. The maximum number of pupils in classrooms is being gradually reduced. The powers of school directors, deans, and rectors are being strengthened. There have also been changes in entry requirements to high school and college. Work is in progress on drafting program documents. The government has discussed a new bill on the primary and secondary school system and the bill on colleges, submitted for constitutional discussion. A draft of a concept of a life-long education system for citizens is being completed.

In the sphere of culture, we focused attention on the improvement of the state of the material-technical base of the most prominent cultural institutions. We supported the Czech Socialist Republic Government's plan to experimentally reconstruct the House of Artists.

The restructuring in the cultural sphere puts into a critical light the efficiency of many managerial structures in this sphere. The process of simplification of various norms and regulations has already started.

It is true here today, too, that the effort to effectively make use of funds has nothing in common with substituting cultural-political viewpoints with unilateral commercialism. For the success of restructuring in the cultural sphere, the quality of works of art, as such, will be of key importance, as will be the ability of artists to contribute to the knowledge of social processes and the understanding of great ideals of the restoration of socialism. We trust their sense of justice, truth, and social progress, the feeling for reality and for looking into the future, for the correct expression of our peoples' interests.

The state authorities and citizens are paying more and more attention to tourism. We approach tourism as an important right of citizens to get to know the world, to gain experience, and to establish contacts. On the basis of the talks with the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee's Secretariat, we are creating together prerequisites for particularly the young generation to make use of these possibilities on the widest possible scale.

The number of visitors to Czechoslovakia has been growing every year; 25 million people came to our country last year, 23 million of them from socialist countries. The interest has also grown in the first ½ of this year and this has been shown by the increase of income by almost 1 billion korunas.

Broader satisfaction of interests in trips abroad depends on economic resources. The realistic way of doing this is to expand services and from the proceeds, finance tourism of our citizens.

In agreement with out international obligations we removed unneccesary red tape regulations and made travel much easier. The processing of travel documents is speeded up. For travel to nonsocialist countries and to Yugoslavia exit visas will not be necessary. The limit on the number of journeys abroad to visit relatives abroad has been lifted. Traveling abroad with the aim to stay abroad permanently has been made simpler. Visas are being granted to foreigners to visit Czechoslovakia on selected border transits. The area of the border zone has been limited, and its new status is being prepared.

The improvement of conditions for foreign travel last year led to a 30 percent increase in the number of journeys to hard currency areas. The basic directions of further proceeding are contained in this year's approved conception of comprehensive advancement of tourism. Our aim is to make Czechoslovakia a country for which tourism represents not only an important part of the state budget and of organizations' budgets, but also satisfaction of the population.

Family is coming ever more to the forefront of the interest of social policy, because the number of problems not dealt with for a long time has grown in this area too: the high number of divorces and abortions, the rate of childhood illnesses, and shortcomings in educational activity of educational systems and other institutions. We are completing the state concept of family policy, which includes the complex of measures in the sphere of social help to families with children, in the improvement of the quality of upbringing and education of children, alleviating the position of mothers, and also dealing with the most weighty problems of families with low incomes.

I would like to inform you briefly about some of our thinking in the social area. We are examining various forms of reducing the working time for women. We are also considering providing maternity benefits for a longer period, extending vacation time for mothers with small children, and other measures that would benefit women. We are considering a more effective way of protecting consumers, for instance by extending the period of a guarantee. We are also concerning ourselves with other proposals, many of them proceeding from the recommendation initiated by various organizations and individuals.

The level of social guarantees is also linked with the effectiveness of overcoming negative phenomena in our society. This is why we attach such importance to the fight against the theft of socialist property, against corruption and abuse of office. Crime, including youth criminality, is not yet in retreat. In connection with the preparation of new laws the need has been shown to examine more deeply the causes of these phenomena and to fight them more effectively. A part of this endeavor is greater concern to reinforce legal guarantees. After all, the effort to ease the everyday worries of the population is the motive and criterion of each step we take, of each decision we make. We shall not conceal the low effectiveness of our national economy. We see as the only acceptable alternative a higher formation of resources, in savings of all kind, and in the redistribution of resources from less needed things to the more needed ones. We regard the prime task to be meeting such needs that will encourage the growth of resources.

Comrades, in its policy statement the government has committed itself to strive to secure as much as possible the tasks set for the eighth 5-year plan. We made that decision at the time when instead of the planned acceleration of economic development the economy was slowing down. Even at the time it was not realistic to think that we could succeed in halting this negative trend at once. Even in this exceptionally complicated situation we neither sat idly by nor waited for a miracle to happen. We did not conceal the weak spots in our 5-year plan and did not promise what could not be fulfilled. The endeavor for an active approach, which would minimize the nonfulfillment of the tasks of previous years, had a favorable reaction and influence. The missing resources seriously influenced our decisionmaking. This is reflected most seriously in the supplier-consumer relations, the state budget balance, and the possibilities in the field of social policy.

An objective view of the situation, however, also shows some positive results. This year's growth of the national income is higher than the target set in the state plan but lower than the original intentions of the eighth 5-year plan. Economic development has been supported more than in the past by the increased social productivity of labor, while the volume of planned wages has at the same time been maintained overall. The worsening of our balance of payments with the nonsocialist states has beeen halted. We have succeeded to some degree in curbing credits and the growth of stocks. Insolvency of enterprises has been reduced.

Of course, no single one of these partial positive trends is irreversible. The danger that things will again take a turn for the worse has far from been eliminated. The existing dynamism of the national income is still insufficient to reinforce economic equilibrium. The performance of the Czechoslovak economy continues to be unsatisfactory, with labor productivity low and manufacturing consumption high. Our production still lacks the necessary quality and is costly with the result that we are unable to compete sufficiently well on world markets.

The area of external economic relations has been subject to the government's enduring attention and will be so in the future as well. Unless sectors and state enterprises feel sufficiently the influences of the world market we shall not be able to make progress. They will have to learn to react to them not by asking for concessions or protection against foreign competition but by increasing their own effectiveness. This is the objective base for our overall trade strategy. I want to inform you about these matters in greater detail because their influence on our economic situation is considerable and will probably grow further in the near future.

The fast progress of restructuring in some socialist states, and important changes in their economic policy are complicating the outlining of longer-term plans for us too. Many of our enterprises, above all machine building, are having considerable marketing problems as a consequence of these changes. Their future depends on the ability to adapt themselves to the fast changing conditions. Our partners in the socialist countries, when coordinating plans for the next 5-year period, want to a greater and greater extent to trade in free currencies. Thus the government considers it to be its duty to ensure the basic framework of contractural relations with socialist states. The rest is a matter for enterprises. They cannot rely on the center solving everything for them.

Developments in the world and in Europe are leading toward an unusually fast internationalization of economies. We cannot and must not be left out of this process. In the past year we have been creating the basic system and the legislative conditions for this. We have adopted a new law on adjustment of economic relations with foreign countries and on the status of foreign joint venture enterprises. A new hard currency bill is being prepared. The number of enterprises that have the right of foreign trade activities is increasing. Experiences gained so far from the first joint enterprises, above all in the construction of hotels, show however that Czechoslovak organizations have to approach much more responsibly the selection of partners and mutual advantages of contracts.

In reply to critics of this aproach we say: We are resolutely in favor of continuing along the path we have started but we cannot reduce the requirement for contribution to our economy. Disorder cannot be tolerated! All of this, of course, does not mean that we have been able to remove the basic persisting maladies in our participation in the international division of labor. The conviction about the self-salvaging character of own production and research has cost us much in unnecessarily spent means, and the loss of markets and time.

The effort of some enterprises to achieve complete self-sufficiency is an illusion in Central Europe as we approach the 1990's—whether as a result of helplessness or arrogance. And, in many respects, the future of our country depends on realization of this truth at all levels of management.

We see the improvement of our position in the world economy in utilizing our advantages, the good foundations in some branches, and consistent specialization. We are in favor of an active export offensive. Passive, anti-import measures have no future as solutions. We cannot research and produce that which we like and are used to but that which we can effectively use in the world. To be successful in the ever more demanding international competition is therefore also the basic yardstick of the contents of structural changes that we are speedily introducing.

The disadvantageous character of the Czechoslovak economy's structure has been analyzed in its basic features in a government report at the June session of the Federal Assembly. The draft structural changes were discussed by the government at the beginning of November. What are the starting approachs to these important issues? We do not see the restructuring of the production base as a kind of a temporary campaign—it is a permanent and continuing process of adapting to the needs of domestic and foreign markets. These are changes that cannot be postponed; We must not lose time unnecessarily. At the same time, these are very serious steps, which require thorough calculations of costs, losses, and profits. The consideration must proceed not only from technical and technological analysis but above all economic analysis. In this respect we have ordered the State Planning Commission to submit proposals corresponding to the demanding criteria of the full utilization of the potential of fast returns and the necessary contribution for the national economy. It is very difficult to forecast the development of the situation on the international raw materials and goods markets.

Some of today's visions will probably not survive the tests of time. We know, however, what mistakes to avoid

in the future. The support of enterprises that are lagging behind and that have no future at the expense of those that are productive cannot be counted on. We consider the priority of economic criteria to be most important, to develop only effective production and to abolish noneffective production.

The international division of labor enables us to replace anything from our production programs by imports. We have to therefore concentrate means where we can most effectively earn for our imports. The experience of the past 30 years shows that closing down noneffective productions cannot be only a matter for central directives: the enterprises themselves have to have an interest in the matter. The earlier resolutions remain on paper only because loss-making production continued to receive subsidies. We cannot continue this practice.

We are often asked how much the structural changes will cost and where the money will come from? We proceed from the principle that the structural policy has to take place in the framework of redistribution of resources. Development in one direction has to be conditional to contraction in other. It is quite unacceptable to demand to give in unreturnable subsidies from central resources 130 billion Kcs as investment for the so-called development programs.

The only program that can be considered as having good prospects is one that is able to earn its upkeep. This should never include a program that makes losses for a long time. This naturally does not mean that we shall not support from the state funds those enterprises that are able to stand up to competition.

The speed of structural changes has been much discussed recently. Social and political risks are considered which are connected with it. They cannot be ignored. Most people do not like to give up work that they were fond of and were used to doing. Hardly anybody welcomes with enthusiasm the need to requalify. We are convinced that in the interest of all of society it is better to envision partial problems and lack of comfort for certain groups of working people than to risk general lagging behind and decline. It is normal in the world and we have no choice, either.

On the other hand, the government is aware of its responsibility for not endangering the fundamental social certainties and the rights of the working people by carrying out structural changes. Experience from the uranium industry has shown that where the contraction of production is approached in a really comprehensive way, where people are consulted instead of things being attended to bureaucratically, even difficult problems can be mastered.

We have provided in the policy statement an open and very critical view of the state of our investment project construction. We have decided to carry out a gradual but radical change. A special governmental commission has chosen some construction projects in which the beginning or the completion of the construction works depended on the implementation of a number of conditions. The change, however, has taken place only in a few individual cases.

One of the important steps toward removing economic imbalance was the adoption of a temporary moratorium on starting new construction projects. Its overall effect will be analyzed only at the beginning of next year. This decision created—and we naturally had foreseen this—discrepant attitudes, including criticism of some deputies. I would only like to add to this that the restoration of economic balance will remain only a useless magic formula if we do not have enough courage to also adopt radical measures in the case of necessity. I agree that they have to bring a change for the better but they will also hurt someone severely. We do not want to make formal decisions. There have been enough of those.

In the implementation of the plan of investment project construction the set dealines are being delayed still further. We are checking up on the course of construction of nuclear power stations in Mochovce and Temelin. We are dealing with the slow speed of learning of the technology of desulfurization. Experience has shown that it will probably be necessary next year to start limiting investment project construction.

Care for improving the environment has become an important part of the government's overall policy. We are currently preparing a number of steps aimed at implementing the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session and the recommendations from the session of the Central Committees of the National Front of the CSSR, CSR, and SSR [Czech Socialist Republic and Slovak Socialist Republic] on these issues. We see as prospective solutions the following: The creation of an ecologically more favorable strategy which will be aimed at the reduction of the power and material demands of production.

We have adopted a complex of measures on gassification, the construction of heating stations, the wider use of electric power for the heating of Prague and the North Bohemian region. The question of our living environment is not only a question of large construction sites; it is also the everyday care of the national committees, of citizens, initiative and responsibility.

Together with the solution of many concrete problems, we are paying increased attention to financial affairs. We are carefully studying the course of economic reforms in the other socialist countries. It is known that one of the stumbling blocks is the disturbance of the balance between the quantities of money and goods. The result is pressures on growth of prices or on use of foreign credits. Available money which cannot buy anything can discredit restructuring more than anything else. We realize the danger of fanning the inflation spiral and we want to avoid it. However, we have no illusions that it will be easy. The government is aware of the risks. That is why it is preparing a program of renewal and strengthening the balance of our economy. The point of departure is

support of supply and regulation of demand. A part of it is also higher dependence of wages on the achieved economic results with the aim of preventing unjustified growth of monetary incomes.

Comrades, in the report on the state and development of economy, we briefed the Federal Assembly on the adopted decisions and on decisions which are being prepared speedily to introduce the basic principles of the new mechanism on 1 January 1990. One can say with responsibility that the government is fulfilling its pledge. The required work in the legislative, organizations, and economic spheres is being done within deadlines. We are aware of the difficulties which accompany the shortening of the preparatory period of introducing the economic reform. Not all organs and their employees will overcome their former approaches and stereotypes in the way of thinking. Often, ingrained industrial parochialism is apparent, there are clashes of old and new attitudes, there are risks of unhealthy compromises and disharmonies in the progress of work at individual sections. All of this has marked some decisions to which we shall return after assessing the experience. We are relying on science, on the knowledge stemming from economic theory. However, one cannot overlook facts, one cannot ignore the power of deep-rooted habits in the lives of the people. We are not starting over from scratch—we are building on the foundations achieved. We do not think that the new mechanisms will start working efficiently from the date they are promulgated or that the year 1990 is the end of the development of knowledge. We shall continue the reforms still further.

Before us lies a demanding period of assessing experiences, of altering what has not proved useful and, if need be, of seeking new policies. As you know, there is culmination and finalization of the process of approving the norms which form the legal foundation of economic restructuring. I shall not bother enumerating them—it would be a very long list. I would like to thank you, deputies of the Federal Assembly, for your creative approach and understanding, which you demonstrated in assessing the new bills.

What experiences and hopes are we going to have on entering the last year of the eighth 5-year plan? From 1 January 1989, new rules in agriculture, food industry, internal trade, and in some kinds of service have been implemented on a large scale. Together with the knowledge of the experimenting enterprises, experience confirms the correctness of the path we have embarked on. We envision a more detailed assessment at the beginning of next year. However, one can say already today that the worries about the difficulty of the conditions or the doubts as to possibilities of mobilization of reserves have not materialized. We are aware of the critical remarks of the enterprises about the solutions and policies in various spheres of the economic mechanism. They concern, in particular, the stability of economic instruments and rules, the complexity of regulation of wages, and the proposed system of levies.

Many discussions have also been triggered by the influence of the organs of socialist self-managment and the election of directors of enterprises. The government has adopted standpoints on these and other problems at its session, as well as during addresses by its members. I do not wish to reiterate these viewpoints. The Chamber of the People, too, recently discussed these questions. I consider it necessary to speak only about certain problems. Adopting a number of temporary measures does not signify a retreat from the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism. We are striving for the necessary stability of economic conditions for the economic activity of organizations. The submitted draft bills on taxes and levies also give the enterprises increased guarantees of stable economic conditions. They are based on the maximum possible unity of taxes, while respecting the necessary interest of the organizations in the deserved growth of profit. They stem from (?demands) for independence and more trust in the ability to use them correctly.

On the other hand, however, the enterprises must count on the need to be able to react flexibly to the changes in prices, exchange rates, interest rates, and so on. These changes will no longer be constantly recalled, as used to be the case. It is from these points of view that the system of guiding the development of the economy has been set up. It creates an inseparable part of the future system of planning.

It is difficult to judge with any sense of finality whose high profits are deserved and whose are not, who is at fault if an enterprise has difficulties. The fact is, however, that about one- quater of enterprises now have higher than 10 percent profitability and that almost one-eighth have a loss of almost Kcs 7 billion. These differences are certainly not small, but how to solve them? We are not in favor of overall draining of resources or of compulsory subsidies; however, we are in favor of differentiated approaches—simply, in favor of consistent implementation of the principles of merits also with regard to enterprises.

We do not agree with one-sided criticism of the results of restructuring wholesale and purchase prices. We have already made decisions on improvement in cases where shortcomings truly arose. The varied economic results of organizations, however, cannot be explained merely by incorrect prices. The aim of price restructuring was not to make sure that everyone is equally good or equally bad. Certain differentiation, the existence of above-average or below-average and even loss-making organizations is considered quite natural. It is, above all, up to the enterprises themselves to determine how they will cope with it.

Doubts have been arising continuously about whether ministries are able to influence the activity of enterprises in such a way as to make them permanently in harmony with society's interests. Some unhealthy trends do exist—for example, efforts to attain results at the expense of long-term prosperity of organizations, instead

of investing in technical development to finance short-term needs or export regardless of the needs of domestic consumers.

We agree with the view of deputies that all (?founders), above all in the production areas, should fulfill their duties much more responsibly and better. We see the mastering of this task as one of the determining criteria of the ability and competence of our ministers to carry out the work entrusted to them.

The interest of the professional and the general public has been concentrated in the past year on organizational restructuring. Various views exist on the changes which have been carried out. It is, however, obvious that a satisfactory state of affairs has not been attained everywhere. The maintenance of excessive monopolization restrains innovative activity. Therefore, we support the setting up of new medium and small state enterprises. This is not something that is done only for the sake of form; it is done to create the conditions for autonomous decisionmaking, for competition, and, above all, to attain greater efficiency.

We are changing to a two-tier system of management. A part of this task is the already implemented 30 percent reduction of the apparatus of central bodies. We are, however, far from satisfied with the speed of vacating the saved space. A number of ministers have paid more attention to seeking concessions and exceptions than to the more rational organization of entrusted areas. The general public's criticism of the indolent implementation of the government's resolution is justified, and everybody who is concerned has a duty to assume a self-criticial position on this.

We do not find the current size of the apparatus ideal. However, we proceed from the fact that within the framework of an approved budget the arrangement of the internal structure is to be done according to constitutional factors. It is therefore obvious from what I have said that restructuring is not a definitely closed process.

We do know about some problems and we also have a basic idea how to solve them. For some things we shall learn lessons from the immediate period of time. We do not claim that we never make mistakes; where we have made mistakes we shall put things right.

Comrades! We proceed from the fact that changes of the economic mechanism are taking place for the people and not for organizations. In this respect we expect a positive turn, but not immediately, however, from the beginning of 1990. The new economic instruments will be in force then, but the consequences will only be seen gradually, depending on how fast state enterprises and their employees adapt to the new conditions. In this connection we are preparing the plan for next year.

Enterprises have already been informed about its main aims, and they can compare them to their own visions. The government has ordered all ministers to provide every possible assistance for them. We know that there will still be difficulties, above all in those enterprises which export most of their output. The most important fact is already known: the principle of self-financing, profit-making production, independence and responsibility of enterprises. It is not necessary as before to satisfy scores of indices; the ability to produce good quality goods cheaply and to be able to sell them well is now decisive.

We are often asked whether it will be possible next year to sort out the supplier-consumer relations, to remove the unhealthy advantage of demand over supply. We say openly: No, it is not, although we are striving for an improvement, and this above all because these deep disproportions are laid in the very plan of the eight 5-year plan. Many of us will no doubt remember that there were different approaches toward the dynamics of this 5-year plan, and, at the end, a variant which was not sufficiently economically backed up was adopted. It envisioned a radical reduction of material cost, which was to represent one of the main sources of the growth of the created national income. However, the plan did not provide for the necessary prerequisites, above all by structural changes and the contribution of the scientific-technical progress. This has resulted in a situation in which enterprises are short of raw materials and materials in the first 3 years of the eighth 5- year plan worth a total of several billion Kcs. Our production cannot supply this quantity and imports are either impossible or we have no means for them in free currencies. We do no intend this as criticism of the past but as a lesson for the future.

The government has dealt with the concept of the preparation of directives for the drafting of plans of the ninth 5-year plan. We are aware of the fundamental political and socioeconomic importance of this document. It will be discussed at the 18th CPCZ congress and will lay the foundations for uniting a wide range of citizens' interests, both as producers and consumers.

What are the main approaches which we are adopting in preparing for the next 5-year period? Care for a sufficiency of material resources for improving the people's living conditions is seen by us as the most important in the drafting of this plan. This time there must not be merely a lift of natural indices—setting the number of tonnes of coal, cement, cerials, and so on. Increasing the production of these will not in itself ensure living standards. Together with this it is necessary to give an answer to the size of cost, profitability. We see the changed quality of the plan in the organic linking of the new economic mechanisms and the structural strategy along state, branch, and enterprise lines. We are in favor of a realistic plan. It is to create guarantees for us to overcome the lagging behind, to avoid unnecessary risks, and to set off on the path of higher dynamics based on the balance between resources and utilization.

We put special emphasis on activation of the enterprise sphere. There is still a lot of waiting around and doubts in it. Without its active share it is impossible to mobilize

public resources. Unlike in the past, the share of enterprises in the preparation of the ninth 5-year plan is increasing considerably. The task is to support their enterprising initiative, the courage to take risks, and to give them specialized consultative services for this.

The government has dealt intensively with questions of the Czechoslovak economy's more effective participation in the international division of labor, above all in the socialist economic integration. Within the CEMA framework we come out with a integrated concept which is a sequal to the restructuring of our economic mechanism. This concerns both the directions of cooperation activity, prices, hard currency, and financial conditions.

Comrades! The government is striving to perfect our socialist legal state, to strengthen social, political, and personal rights.

As a sequel to the new Constitution we are preparing new bills which concern political rights of citizens, as is the case, for example, in connection with the drafting of a new bill on the right of assembly, the bill on the right of association. The new bill on state administration management which is being prepared will also contribute to perfecting the functioning of the state administration as will the bill on the care of children and youth, the new bill on the protection of state, economic, and military secrets. This is also the aim of the new criminal bill, the Criminal Code, the bill on serving prison sentences, bills on offenses, and general legal regulations.

The past year has shown the correctness of aims to raise to a higher level the relations between the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Assembly. The government-proposed draft bills are being discussed with representative bodies already. Proposals put forward by deputies are carefully assessed by government organs and specific conclusions are drawn from them. We appreciate at the same time also the effort of organs of the Federal Assembly to meet half-way the government's initiatives. We see in this cooperation an important component of democratization both in the preparation of bills and also in the control of their implementation, and, for our part, we want to improve it further.

In harmony with the conclusions of the program statement, we have, as a National Front government, introduced a system of regular joint sessions of the government with Presidiums or Secretariats of the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, and the union of agricultural farmers. We are preparing similar sessions with the Czechoslovak Union of Women and we also envision others. From these consultations a number of constructive proposals have emerged. We have ordered the assessment of proposals of the recent state-wide conference of the Socialist Union of Youth which concern the competence of state organs. We shall adopt a stand on the criticism of housing, the standard of work of schools, the taxation policy, and bureaucratic regulations. At a forthcoming session with the Secretariat of the Socialist Union we shall put forward specific proposals for solutions.

In this connection I would like to express the government's view on various criticisms of its work. Comments and proposals which proceed from a sincere effort for the renewal of socialism and its creative development in new conditions we consider to be a help in the common cause. In an open dialogue correct and incorrect, acceptable and unacceptable views appear—this is natural and we accept this. We are in favor of a broad discussion; we are not avoiding even sharp exchanges of view but this with one condition only: within the framework of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic while preserving the norms of public order in the spirit of democratic traditions and cultured behavior. This is not unusual, this is the case in all law-observing states. An example of such an approach is the further broadening of cooperation with the Czechoslovak Public Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation.

Democratization and flow of public information make it possible to involve various social forces in social life. We have a joint path with those who are really interested in removing deformations and obsolete ideas about socialism. Our strength rests in honest policy. Insensitivity, prejudices, and lack of understanding prevent the winning of confidence in a socialist state. Without them, it is imposible to rule in a democratic way or to continue successfully in social reforms.

In the area of social policy the government has proceeded thoroughly in keeping with the policy statement. By active participation in the restructuring of international relations we have been securing favorable external conditions for life in peace, for political and economic, military and ecological security, and for carrying out political and economic reforms. In the interest of this Czechoslovakia has been striving, in close cooperation with its allies, toward further reduction of the danger of confrontation and of nuclear war, toward wide dialogue and an improvement of the situation, particularly in Europe.

In international relations favorable developing trends are being asserted more and more. We are concerned about attempts to cast doubt on the postwar arrangement in Europe, about the existence of two sovereign German states, and about attempts to revise the existing borders. All this clashes with the need to reinforce confidence, security, and stability on the continent, the creation of good-neighborly relations, in which we are also interested.

The government has paid uppermost attention to the deepening of all-round cooperation with the socialist states, above all with the USSR. It has concentrated on the improvement of cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and on the reinforcement of its political character, on making the CEMA's forms and methods of work more effective.

We have also made progress in pushing through the initiative in creating a zone of confidence on the line of contact of the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO and the setting up of a mechanism of ecological cooperation in Central Europe. In this way we are contributing all-round to the Helsinki process, to the building of a common European home about which Comrade Gorbachev spoke in Strasbourg. We consider it inevitable that in the spirit of new thinking our foreign policy continues to react in a suitable way to the dynamic advancement of the current international situation.

Comrades, the carrying out of the government's program requires the interest of all true Czechoslovak patriots. Proud of our people's past, we want to secure a dignified life for the present and future generations. We refuse the slogans about the destined lagging behind and mediocrity. Our contribution to world progress in the past was not a small one. We have no reason to pessimism. The people of this country have proven many times that they are able to catch up and speed up in revolutionary times, to express their devotion to the cause of national and social progress. Most of all, however, we need sufficient courage and abilities everywhere, in the center and in the localities to identify with the uncompromising criteria of the world economic and social development.

It is a socialist principle to assess everybody everywhere according to the highest demands on the basis of the real contribution his work is bringing to society.

A year which has passed since you expressed your confidence in the government's policy statement has asked a lot from each of us. I want to make use of this opportunity to thank all deputies, members, and officials of the CPCZ and of other political parties, deputies of representative bodies, all mass and interest organizations for the understanding and support given to our activity. We have advanced since last November. Therefore we are turning to you, deputies, with the conviction that you will support the correctness of the path we are following. Thank you for your attention.

Assembly Adopts Resolution on Economic Tasks

LD1411221789 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 14 (CTK)—The Government has been striving to speed up the socio-economic development of society and further improve the standard of living of the people, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly deputies said in a resolution to a report on the fulfillment of the program statement of the Czechoslovak Government, approved after a debate today.

The document stated that the economic growth has been quicker than planned and that labour productivity in industry has increased more rapidly in comparison to the growth in production. Despite some positive tendencies, the desired turn in the promotion of effectiveness and intensification of the economy has not been achieved.

The government has been striving for a greater integration of Czechoslovakia in the international division of labour and amid cuts in expenditure it ensures the country's defence capability within the alliance with other Warsaw Treaty member states. It continues to strengthen the international positon and prestige of Czechoslovakia, adheres to international agreements and demands that they are observed by its partners. It takes an active part in the development of the all-European process and at the same time it consistently insists on preserving the postwar set-up in Europe which guarantees stability and peaceful cooperation, the resolution emphasized.

It demanded that the Czechoslovak Government, while fulfilling its program statement, focus attention mainly on the consistent implementation of the program of restoring and strengthening internal and external economic balance and intensification of the economic growth, on improvement of the situation on the home market, consistent implementation of the social program and tasks in creation and protection of the living environment.

Over 7.7 Million Tourist Visas Issued

LD1511105489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR people's police issued a total of 7,765,881 tourist visas between last Thursday and 0800 Central European Time this morning. This was announced by a spokesman of the GDR Interior Ministry. A total of 13,579 applications for permanent emigration from the GDR have been approved.

Decree Issued on Emigrants' Property Rights

LD1411155589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] The Ministry of Finance has lifted the regulation on the management of the property of persons who have left the GDR, which has been valid since August 1958. According to the Ministry Press Office, state trustees are no longer to be appointed. Emigrating citizens are responsible for arranging their property affairs and to appoint people with power of attorney. Trusteeships already in existence will remain valid. Citizens who left the GDR after 31 July this year will have the opportunity to settle their own property affairs. But arrangements will have to conform to the law. The new decree will very soon be published in the legal gazette.

New Pedestrian Border Crossing Opens at Elend

LD1411164989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—A new border crossing has been open in the Harz since 0800 today. It was reported to ADN that GDR citizens may now also enter the FRG at Elend (Magdeburg Bezirk). But this crossing is reserved at the moment for pedestrians only. Only light traffic was registered in the morning. The holidaymakers and tourists arrived mainly by car, which could be parked at a parking lot at the border crossing.

Red Cross Prepares for Returning Refugees

LD1411175689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1628 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ADN)—The GDR is currently preparing for the return of numerous former citizens of its country. Transition camps are being prepared to receive these people. The German Red Cross (DRK) of the GDR is at present conducting discussions on humanitarian aid measures with the DRK of the FRG and the regional association of the DRK of Berlin (West), Dr Karl-Heinz Borgwadt, who had been elected on the same day as the presiding DRK president.

According to Dr Borgwadt, several thousand former GDR citizens have turned to date to the DRK of the FRG requesting humanitarian aid. According to Dr Borgwadt, preparations are being made for the reception of up to 10,000 people. The Red Cross organizations of both German states foresee bringing those wishing to return by bus over the border crossing points at Hirschberg (Gera area), Marienborn (Magdeburg Area), Wartha (Erfurt Area), and Zarrenthin (Schwerin Area) or by train over the crossings at Marienborn, Gerstungen (Erfurt Area) and Probstzella (Gera Area) to the GDR. They will be received there by members of the DRK of the GDR and brought to reception camps prepared for them, which are due to be ready from Wednesday.

On the same day, the Magdeburg Area council chairman, Siegfried Gruenwald, and the prime minister of the FRG state of Lower Saxony, Dr Ernst Albrecht, had telephone discussions on this problem. Gruenwald gave information on the preparations in the GDR and asked for information about corresponding preparations in Lower Saxony. Dr Albrecht gave the assurance that he would learn without delay about the state of affairs in his federal state and then report back. [passage omitted]

Officials' Speeches at 10th CC Session

Modrow Speech

AU1411170489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 89 pp 5-6

[Speech by Hans Modrow, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk leadership, at the 10th Central Committee session in Berlin on 9 November: "For a New Socialism in Which Man Is the Measure of All Things"]

[Text] Dear comrades:

We all feel that never before in the history of our people was a Central Committee session linked with so much responsibility and had to stand such a severe test as the present one. At stake now is the future of our party and the future of socialism. In this connection, the feelings that we all have, our impressions, assessments, and our view of things during the events that are taking place in our country and in our party are characterized by subjective elements to a very high degree. This is normal and must not be reduced by demands and calls for close cooperation, joint responsibility, and such like. Such a view of things would already constitute the first restriction preventing a really thorough analysis of the existing situation. Such an analysis, however, is the most important precondition for taking constructive and mature steps toward far-reaching changes and reforms for a renewed socialism with a new quality.

Today's Central Committee session is under pressure due to high expectations but also due to great doubts about its capacity to make decisions. We further nurtured doubts after the Ninth Central Committee Session. This was preceded by undesirable developments, the wrong assessment of the situation, and by glossing things over. Both are serious shortcomings and a great burden. At the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in particular, the opportunities to introduce changes that had become necessary at that time were wasted—mainly because our relationship with the

Soviet Union was no longer clear and because we did not sufficiently take into consideration the lessons of other fraternal countries. Now we have declared a change, but the party has so far not succeeded in leading the changes in a visible and convincing manner. Let me only mention a few grievances: The slow process in the trade unions that is again making the required changes untrustworthy; a statement by the collegium of the Education Ministry represented a new obstacle. The statements made by the alliance partners recently in this connection deserve respect. They showed that we must be self-critical enough to point out that those among our leaders who until recently declared that we must take our own time, that we should not press for changes, and that the situation must be assessed correctly did not assess the situation correctly and dreamed up a time that we did not really have.

The 4 November demonstrations in Berlin and other cities, including Leipzig, Dresden, and many other places, should be a tough and clear lesson for us. The actual test of this session will be whether we realize and understand this and adopt and take sufficiently far-reaching steps.

Waiting and Hesitation Accelerated Loss of Confidence

The Secretariat of the Dresden Bezirk leadership—I also have to speak in my capacity as first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk leadership—discussed its position in this situation with working people from the Freital High-Grade Steel Works on 3 November. We discussed and proposed our standpoint on what we want and for what we use all our strength—as an orientation for our party and for the struggle for the confidence of the citizens from all classes and strata, and of the public.

The workers class is and continues to be the leading force in our society and it can only realize its interests with a Marxist- Leninist party of its class.

We started an open dialogue in Dresden weeks ago, and we do not exclude anyone. We saw the bitterness with which the broad masses are living. I swallowed many a bitterness for our party in this process, and various things that I myself have experienced in the party recently came to my mind.

In the talk between Comrade Egon Krenz and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, problems were pointed out which also affect the situation of Comrade Willi Stoph. However, we should not concentrate on bitterness now because this does not get us anywhere. But many comrades in the basic organizations are experiencing this bitterness, and we are not here to discuss what we who are attending this session feel. Quite a few things that happened recently do not make us freer. It is the duty and obligation of all of us to turn to a greater extent to the grass roots of our party, to the basic organizations, and particularly to the enterprises. What is important now is that the party retains its ability to act. If we want to act vigorously as a party, we must do this together with the members of our party, and ensure and guarantee this.

The decisions that were finally made in the trade unions due to pressure from the members have meanwhile led to pressure against the trade unions and their unity. Wherever we had to prove ourselves as the governing party with steadfastness and responsibility, we have further increased the loss of trust through waiting and hesitation.

The position of the group of the Free German Youth in the People's Chamber, in their discussion with their president, was an opportunity to give the youth association a chance to gain political recognition and approval among the young. We definitely need recognition and approval among the young.

Our alliance partners have taken numerous initiatives, submitted proposals and offers that must be taken into consideration within the alliance.

Deputies Must Be Real Representatives of the People

In the streets, calls for free elections and for a referendum on the Constitution are put forth. We must face up to these issues, as well as to questions concerning the identity of the GDR citizens which the opponent brings up with reference to the continuing wave of emigration.

This and a great deal more has happened since the ninth Central Committee session. The first elected general secretary has not exactly benefited from this.

What we need is a People's Chamber that testifies through its work to the fact that socialist democracy is possible and viable in our country.

In order to realize the principle of the rule of law which is being demanded everywhere now, we must quickly create an intact and competent highest people's representative body, which we do not have at the moment. This includes that deputies can really act as representatives of the people and are not only invited to participate in the voting procedure. If we do not achieve significant changes in the very near future, in the next few days, the loss of trust will further increase.

If we expect others to work hard, we ourselves must first work hard.

There were comrades at the seventh Central Committee session who told me—not here on the podium but during the break—that I had gone to the very limit with my speech. That was what I wanted to do, and that this was the case was clearly proven between the seventh and eighth Central Committee sessions. Today I know that I should have said much more and that the things I said were by far not sufficient. Thus, the question of personal responsibility continues to be of decisive importance for me.

I do not say this because I want to stage a self-representation, which has rightly been rejected by Comrade Hermann Kant.

We should not believe that from today on we will never again be seen as surpassing a limit when we expound our assessments and positions. We will have to be careful to avoid this, and we will have to struggle for this time and again.

The turning point has come from the streets, and we must not forget the Leninist principle that a party which does not recognize and acknowledge its mistakes loses the capacity to lead.

If our reflection only takes place because of pressure from the streets, if our courage does not come from within ourselves, and our place is not in the midst of the people's attitude, then we have neither the strength, the right, nor the trust to receive the endorsement of the party and the people.

The extraordinary situation was pointed out and the party conference was mentioned. However, it is above all the Central Committee session that finds itself in this extraordinary situation. It is not only linked with the party congress.

Central Committee Hardly Influenced Politburo

Where do I see the need for responsibility?

We have elected a new Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat, we talked about responsibility that has to be assumed, and we must also know that we will be confronted with questions about guilt and measures that ensure that such a situation cannot be repeated. The Central Committee must redefine its function. It must not continue to be a body confirming the work carried out by the Politburo. This is what our activities were mainly restricted to during the past few years, and we hardly tried to influence the work of the Politburo. The Politburo's tendency to make independent decisions must be stopped once and for all. The party will examine us, the Politburo, and the Central Committee after this session to see whether we are able to carry out the revolutionary process of changes in the GDR which must indispensably also include the renewal of our party.

The change must begin with the renewal of the party itself and be very closely linked with it. Mere demands and appeals to preserve and strengthen the militant strength of the party completely overlook the situation that has actually arisen. The fact that it has now become necessary to call a party conference and to take personnel decisions shows the extent to which we have failed to face up to the topical issues when preparing for the 10th Central Committee session. It was not us who requested this, but the plenary session made this decision today as a result of pressure from outside.

As soon as this session is concluded....

(Egon Krenz: Dear Hans, you are forgetting that the general secretary's speech mentioned the party conference.)

However, Egon, it was today that we submitted the proposal. Let us continue to be honest with each other.

Once this session is concluded, we must have created the preconditions for preparing a party conference in such a way that it ensures our party's cohesion and its existence. To make it possible at this party conference to raise new questions concerning the agenda or cadre questions concerning the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission, the comrades should consider whether the experiences of the CPSU Central Committee would be a possible way for our party's Central Committee to arrive at decisions that would correspond to the aims of this party conference. The party's statutes must be examined and adapted to the new demands.

The program that does not correspond to the revolutionary process of the renewal of socialism which has become necessary in our country must be revised.

Government Needs New Structures

The Central Committee has accepted and taken note of the government's resignation, which, as a matter of fact, came rather late. During this Central Committee meeting, this will have to be discussed. I would like to stress the following: This government does not only need new faces, but above all a new quality and a viable new structure.

The large Council of Ministers, in numerical terms, must be replaced by a real government which will even be described some time in the future as a grand coalition.

Ministries will have to be abolished and an administrative reform must be carried out. A completely new relationship must be established between the party leadership and the government. The policy of alliance must be convincingly reflected in the government. It will indeed be decisive to maintain the government's ability to rule the country. Any delay—even by only a few days—concerning decisions on these issues may have consequences that may be nearly impossible to correct later.

If we want to make our statements about democracy appear credible, the People's Chamber must hold sessions during the last few weeks of the year which show that we are serious about democracy in our country. Democracy cannot only start in the villages, which is always pointed out, but in the highest people's representative body. It is there and only there that the fate of the people can and must be decided. The negligence of the People's Chamber which prevailed particularly since the Eighth SED Congress must be radically stopped.

The government's responsibility to the People's Chamber and its control over the government's activities must be vigorously ensured.

Sovereignty for the deputies must be introduced. How should the citizens develop a consciousness of maturity if they see that not even People's Chamber deputies are advancing things and have something to say.

For nearly 20 years the SED People's Chamber group has not performed and we certainly have not learned to debate in the People's Chamber. Here we must immediately adapt to new demands. We will soon have to conduct parliamentary debates of the kind that the SED has not had to conduct in its entire history. They will be a deciding factor for the leading role, for the party must influence the people's assemblies in its political activity and can no longer address itself to the state executive. Direct intervention in the state apparatus, which has been practiced so far, must be eliminated. The whole process must and will take place in a larger public. It will be linked with a changed role of the media, with openness and true information on all important issues of social development, including differing views and versions on shaping socialism.

Nothing Can Be Achieved Without Hard Work

As far as lessons from the development in other socialist countries are concerned, one has to be aware that sources of crisis are everywhere in the economy. This also applies to our country. Just as in the sphere of politics, in the economy, too, we have only concentrated on the positive elements and overlooked or did not want to see the abundant negative signs. Partly, they were centrally and deliberately distorted.

In any case, we concealed them with self-confidence that was not real, thus preventing a hard and true assessment of the situation. It is particularly this distortion, for which the expression "glossing things over" is much too harmless and which was often in sharp contrast with the experiences of the working people, has gradually led to a decrease in our credibility among the masses.

The political system, which is insufficient for a properly functioning socialist democracy, had such a restraining and even stagnating effect on the economy, and the deteriorating economic situation in turn was a reason for avoiding political reforms and for not allowing experiments.

As Marxists we proceed from the premise that political stability is inconceivable without economic stability. In the long run, the success of fundamental political reforms depends on whether we will succeed in leading our national economy out of the processes of crisis as soon as possible, and in giving a new impetus for its qualitative and quantitative growth.

Thus, I understand the often-cited expression that nothing can be achieved without hard work. Basically, this is the crucial question in renewing socialism. It is even a vital question.

This truth and the consequences that are to be drawn from it should characterize the broad democratic dialogue to an even greater extent.

First of all, we must see the economic situation as it really is. If we do that, we will discover that the situation is serious, very serious. Important basic goals of the 11th SED Congress, whose resolutions fell short of the demands anyway, are not being fulfilled. The qualitative targets of the national economy have deteriorated since 1985. We have not succeeded in reducing the gap of efficiency and productivity as compared with the leading industrial countries; it even increased. As a matter of fact, we considerably modernized some areas, but others, such as the infrastructure, were completely neglected.

The moral and physical superannuation of the basic assets has recently taken on dangerous forms in the entire national economy. Our foreign trade profitability in the nonsocialist sphere has decreased. We need more finished products for the required imports.

On the other hand, we have a high level of consumption in comparison with the production level, which is only possible at the expense of necessary investments for maintenance and future-oriented projects.

On the other hand, we are confronted with increasing pressure, demands, and calls on the part of the society and the citizens. We are primarily faced with the need to achieve a decisive increase in productive accumulation, to do more than we used to do for the preservation of the environment, and to ensure high export surpluses in the nonsocialist sphere every year to be able to pay back redemption rates and interest for loans, and to be able to fulfill the new social needs. Thus, we do not need a lower but a higher performance increase, but not on a general and average basis, but concerning a new quality and structure.

I consider this to be very important, and it was also particularly stressed during the dialogue that, on the basis of a candid description of the situation, we must work out ways leading to change in the sphere of economy. The mature citizen must be familiar with the situation in those spheres that are important and significant for his life, so that he can participate in the necessary decisions and cooperate through his work and his initiative.

Essence of Social Policy To Be Redefined

To assess the real situation, the Central Committee must have an exact knowledge of the state of the state finances.

To further work out economic reforms, we need a social science that really provides a scientific foundation for these reforms as a permanent process, and which does not only propagandize policies, explain them in retrospect, and interpret and justify them, as has been the case do far.

I see three basic directions of economic reform:

1. It must consistently be ensured that the real needs of the people, of the economic units, and naturally also of society and not some indices or other, are the starting point of all economic activity. This seems to be quite obvious, but we must point out that this no longer worked in the past, that in many cases it was only a question of achieving the required quantity, the required rates of increase, etc. This led to the situation that we considerably increased the production of fashionable clothes for young people every year, but that at the same time we had difficulties in selling certain goods, that we produced unsalable articles. The system of indices, which will also be necessary in the future, must be adapted to the actual needs of the citizens.

We must proceed from the fact that the interests of the individual working people, of their enterprises, and of society as a whole are not necessarily identical from the outset, that there are contradictions that must be discussed in order to achieve far-reaching agreement concerning decisions in the sphere of economy. This means that our whole future economic system must be permeated by the spirit of real socialist democracy. Contradictions must be discussed and become effective as driving forces, but they must not be suppressed and covered up.

2. In connection with these needs, the essence of our social policy must be redefined in my view. There is not doubt that we have achieved a great deal in this sphere, and many things must be preserved. However, renewal is necessary in this area as well. Scientific analyses have revealed that the following desires and interests, among others, are considered increasingly important by the working people: High-quality work that is conducive to the unfolding of one's personality and which meets exacting demands concerning industrial medicine and ecological aspects; more flexible working hours and reduced working hours per week—in this sphere we must not allow the trade unions to exert pressure, but must discuss everything—in which field there is a lot to be done; the ecological and social-progressive restructuring of our environment; the qualitative development of housing assets; improved infrastructure in the towns and villages with ample leeway for individuals and collectives to shape their environment; a revision of the concept from primarily extensive tendencies toward consumption that focuses more on the development on one's personality; the elimination of consumer behavior that is negative from health and ecological viewpoints in the sphere of basic and luxury foodstuffs; the development of modern, innovative industrial consumer goods with a low consumption of natural resources; and the expansion of services and recreation facilities.

These individual demands also reflect social needs. In my view, such a redefinition of social policy would be a future-oriented socialist alternative to capitalist policy, because, as a matter of fact, many things can only be realized in socialism.

3. On the basis of what has been said so far, economic reform should lead to a comprehensive economization of the whole of society. Internal and external economic relations, and the economy's relations with other spheres, including science, must really become product-money relations and always proceed from the following set of questions: How does this contribute to fulfilling the needs? How much does it cost? What does it bring? In this connection, one must think about these questions until an answer is found, and one must always see their comprehensive nature.

The policy of subsidies and the pricing policy must be objectively reconsidered. The performance principle as a principle of movement in socialist society must apply to every individual and to every economic unit. Thus, good and honest work must become the measure of all things at all levels. This must be verifiable in the statements of account.

Economic Reform Is Not a Single Act

What every individual can afford must neither depend on special rights nor privileges. There must be no enterprises and combines that enjoy privileges. Wages must depend to a much greater extent on performance. The same also applies to enterprises. Past practices and initial new considerations on the principle of self-financing meet this demand only in an insufficient manner and will not yield the desired results in this form.

More attention must be devoted to issues of money economy. The fundamental abandonment of centralized planning that went too far and of management with an overinflated bureaucratic administration are the preconditions for economization and for increased responsibility on the part of individuals and enterprises. This will open up new space for initiative and creativity on the part of the collectives in industry and agriculture, which has become increasingly smaller during the past few years.

I am aware of the fact that economic reforms must be carried out in phases and not as a single act. They must take place as a permanent process of learning. I openly admit that mistakes cannot be excluded in this process. Therefore, economic reforms must be discussed and criticized in public, and must be most closely linked with science. Everything must be done to avoid serious mistakes in working out the reforms.

In this connection, I do not consider it right that the tasks set by the ninth Central Committee session for the formation of working groups were not realized, as a result of which competent experts, scientists, and general managers were not sufficiently involved in the preparations for this meeting. We are making efforts to do this at the plenary session now, but we should see to it that such a thing does not happen again.

Comrades, I wanted to comment on the situation, I wanted to offer constructive proposals, and demonstrate

the following: Socialism still has a chance in the GDR. Yes, I think that it still has a chance, despite the seriousness of the situation. Our responsibility is enormous. In comparison with other socialist countries, we have a relatively good starting position as far as economic and social achievements are concerned. The masses of the working people in our country advocate socialism, a new socialism under which the mature citizen with his rights, his creative ability, and his work is the measure of all things. I am aware of the fact that it will be very, very difficult for us, and we will have to struggle very hard if we want people to make the following judgment in a few years' time: They were not despondent in the most difficult phase of the development of socialism in the GDR and made the greatest possible efforts in the best sense of the word to support the cause of socialism and of our people.

Kessler Speaks

AU1411144989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 7

[Speech by Heinz Kessler, member of the Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, at the 10th SED Central Committee session in Berlin on 9 November: "National People's Army in a New Phase of Development"]

[Text] Dear comrades:

As was noted in the significant speech of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], I am fully responsible—no matter in what function I was working—for all omissions, insufficiencies, small and big mistakes, and small and big wrong approaches. I have a moderate share in the many good things that have developed in this country.

I have been asked by many members of the party organizations of the National People's Army [NVA] and of the GDR border troops to express their demand for the speedy convening of a party conference.

Dear comrades:

Fist of all, I would like to wholeheartedly thank all members of the NVA, the GDR border troops, and civilian employees for their sacrificial service.

GDR's Contributions to Military Detente

As was noted in the general secretary's speech, the NVA has entered a new phase of development. What level have we currently reached?

Within the framework of solemn ceremonies the following units were disbanded:

—six tank regiments of the ground forces on 24 October;

—Fighter Aircraft Squadron 7 with the Technical Air Force Battalion and the Communications and Air Traffic Control Battalion on 25 October 1989.

The disbanding of these troop units means a reduction by 4,100 men,

—3,185 of whom in the ground forces;

—and 915 of them in the Air Force/Air Defense.

In the process of the step-by-step elimination of a total of 600 tanks by the end of 1990, so far 432 tanks have been put out of service according to plan. The eliminated tanks are put into the Ostritz Tank Depot and into other depots until they are finally scrapped or prepared for being handed over to the national economy.

Of the tanks that have been taken out of the Armed Forces so far, until now a total of

—65 tanks have been taken part, that is, scrapped, and

—155 tanks are intended for use in the GDR's national economy after the removal of corresponding military equipment.

Taking a tank apart requires about M60,000 in the facilities of the NVA, while in industry about M90,000 are needed for this. Proceeding from this difference in costs, so far 12 to 15 tanks are currently taken apart in a military facility every month.

As of 1 December 1989, training centers of the ground forces will be put into the premises formerly occupied by the tank regiments. These centers have the task of giving a 3-month military training to the draftees who have been called to work in the national economy before they start their work there, and thus to prepare a contingent of 8,100 Army members for this task.

As a contribution to military detente, we also have to consider measures of observing and inspecting maneuvers, which we have taken since the coming into force of the document of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe on 1 January 1987.

For this purpose, in December 1986, a joint working group of the Ministries of National Defense, Foreign Affairs, State Security, and Internal Affairs, as well as of other central state institutions was established, which has fulfilled its functions in an exemplary way.

Until now, in line with the agreements, the GDR has

—announced 14 exercises of the NVA, the Western Group of Soviet Forces, or joint troop exercises on its territory, and

—invited maneuver observers to eight of these exercises, to which 25 CSCE states sent a total of 312 observers.

NVA Members Support the National Economy

In the interest of realizing important projects to increase goods production and, above all, to support investment projects in the construction sector, an average of 5,410 Army members with 310 vehicles per month were

deployed during the 1987-88 training year, and 9,100 army members with 322 vehicles during the 1988-89 training year.

The deployment of the Army members in certain focal areas took place with brief interruptions because of the periodic discharge and draft; as of 1988-89, the deployment has been made all year round and in a decentralized manner in 72 combines and enterprises of nine ministries.

In addition, other Army members—in 1989, for instance, up to 1,500—have been used to support the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs Industry and local organs.

By taking into consideration the high economic targets linked with this work, the Army members, only some of whom worked in their original professions, did shift-work in the combines and enterprises, were integrated into their work collectives, and fulfilled the targets for skilled workers to a varying degree—between 65 to 105 percent.

According to the State Planning Commission's calculations, an increase in the production of industrial goods amounting to about M1.2 billion could thereby be achieved in the 1988-89 training year.

This amount does not include the results of the forces subordinate to the Ministries of Transportation, Construction, and Posts and Telecommunications, nor the results of the support provided by youth politics, disaster relief, or special work on specific projects—such as the construction of bridges and water pipes, or the loading of ware potatoes for export to the Soviet Union. Since 30 October, hundreds of Army members have been working—above all in the southern bezirks—as drivers for the supply deliveries, as bus or streetcar drivers, or for the German Railroads. At present, 95 engine drivers and 30 shunters are already at work. Over the next few days an additional 680 specialists will be deployed to the German Railroads. In cooperation with the protective and security services, we are studying further possibilities.

As you know from the press, as a result of a meeting with the health minister, 2,000 Army members are to be used to support the facilities of the health sector as of 1 December 1989.

As a result of the situation that has developed, about 21,000 reservists will not be drafted for reservists' military service from January to April 1990 and are thus available to our national economy.

The checking of the draft [Einberufungsueberpruefungen] from 10 November to 8 December 1989 will not be carried out, either.

These deployments, regulations, and proposals will certainly contribute to preserving—even consolidating—the unity of people and Army.

As a result of the abuse of members of the NVA, and in particular of the GDR border troops, when on vacation and leave, which has recently increased in scope and intensity, insecurity has increased among all units and in the border troops.

Every one of us has to struggle to convince the citizens that such a way of behaving has nothing to do with the freedom of opinion, which has been called for.

We have worked out preliminary ideas to change the border regime. In this process, we proceed from the principle that the future border regime

—must at any time live up to the requirements of protecting the socialist order;

—makes life easier for the GDR citizens; and

—reduces burdens to the national economy.

Furthermore, we are currently working on regulations for alternative military service. After a decision has been made in the People's Chamber, this would make it possible to effectively support—in addition to the work in the national economy, which is already being done—facilities of the health and social sector, environmental protection, as well as communal economy as of May 1990.

In line with the draft of the travel law, we are currently working on analogous regulations for the members of the NVA the GDR border troops, as well as the civilian employees and their dependents.

A last word on the fast changes in everyday service, which the members of the NVA and the border troops are justified to expect from the ministry, the commanders, political organs, and party organizations of all levels.

Under the current conditions of reduction, restructuring, and reorganization of the NVA, the further improvement of service, working, and living conditions is a complicated problem. Last year the most important military regulations were reexamined in the NVA and in the GDR border troops, were adjusted to the current tasks and requirements, or were abolished. Of course, in the Armed Forces, too,—like in the national economy—only what is feasible can be tackled immediately. Everything else has to be solved by taking into consideration an appropriate defense capability, which depends on the respective degree of threat by NATO.

In addition, we have to proceed from the fact that our personnel, material, and financial targets have been repeatedly reduced and that in the future, too, they are to be reduced as much as possible. This results in complicated conditions, for instance, in the field of construction, equipment of barracks, and clothing for Army members.

The new service regulations, which will come into force on 1 December, will pay greater attention to increasing

the possibilities of decisionmaking and the responsibility of superiors at all levels as regards the organization of service, while taking into consideration specific territorial and military conditions. Patronage, devolving or delegating responsibility, as well as rigid forms in, for instance, the organization of everyday service, training, and the services are to be overcome with this.

In addition to the basic changes, which will directly affect service conditions in the NVA and the GDR border troops, comprehensive changes will take place in the life of the Army members. This applies, above all, to improving the living conditions of Army members who live in barracks and hostels.

The amount of extended brief leave [verlaengerter Kurzurlaub], which is to be granted to army members who do not live near the base and cannot go back home every day will be increased. Soldiers doing basic military service will receive leave at least three times every 6 months instead of twice, as in the past. Army members who are doing reservists' service will also receive more leave, in line with their service grades. In order to better fulfill the wishes for lively vacations, the right to additional travel time for Army members who do not live near the base will be increased.

We hope that these and other regulations, in connection with interesting public relations work and a convincing presentation of the NVA and the border troops, will also contribute to our fulfillment of our social duties in connection with commissioning young people for the military professions.

Comradeship-in-Arms with the Soviet Army and the Other Armies of the Warsaw Pact

The unity of people and Army, the uniform cooperation among all Armed Forces of the GDR, and the comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Union and with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact remain an indispensable precondition for protecting the peaceful life and creative work of our working people as well as the future of our children.

I express the firm conviction that the members of the NVA and the GDR border troops will actively participate in the renewal of the socialist society in the GDR.

Dickel Speech

AU1511094289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 89 pp 6-7

[Speech by Friedrich Dickel, SED Central Committee member, GDR minister of the interior, and chief of the People's Police, at the 10th SED Central Committee meeting in Berlin on 9 November: "Ensure a Life in Law and Order and Security"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Before dealing with what I have to say on behalf of the comrades of our organs, in particular the German People's Police, I would like to tell you how much I am concerned, as you all are, about our country and our party. I have been active in the workers movement for 60 years—I ask you to show understanding for my saying so here. Our cause, the cause of the people, has always inspired my optimism, even in hard times—during the Weimar Republic, during the time I was underground, as a fighter of the international brigades in Spain, in the Great Patriotic War [as published], during the time of the new beginning following the most devastating of all wars, until this day.

I say this because some of those who are present here in this hall belong to my generation. These activists of the first hour have done everything in their power and have sacrificed their health by making considerable efforts and assuming large responsibilities during the first years. I say this in full responsibility, together with tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of Communists and other progressive forces who have fulfilled their tasks in all these 40 years in an honest and upright way. That is also being discussed today. I believe and I am convinced that our party will also cope with this complicated time and will pass this great test. We will successfully pursue the road of renewal with optimism, courage, and all our strength. It will undoubtedly require hard work for us to regain the people's confidence and to make our party emerge purified and strengthened from the renewal which will result from revolutionary restructuring.

Dear comrades!

I fully agree with the general secretary's statements and the action program. Of course, we all must think a lot about it. I think it represents a basic orientation for activating our party and for leading the necessary processes of renewal in our society. I consider this a great challenge to the German People's Police and the other organs of the Interior Ministry which have diverse relations with our citizens and our social life.

They have to protect the socialist state and legal order, to guarantee public law and order, and to take care together with the citizens, in a creative way and by many initiatives, that everybody in our country can live in a situation marked by quiet and security and under conditions of high legal security, and that everybody can pursue his work in peace.

I can say here with a good conscience that the German People's Police's work in all these years has always been oriented toward safeguarding the reliable protection of the socialist achievements, our people's peaceful life and creative work, our citizens' dignity and freedom, their lives and health, and their rights.

Contrary to All Instructions, There Have Regrettably Been Violations

We have created the People's Police which is firmly connected with our worker-peasant state and with our people. I firmly back the socialist cause together with the members of our People's Police. Since several weeks, the German People's Police has been exposed to massive attacks. I must frankly state here that during the necessary actions to restore order, powers were transgressed and laws violated contrary to the orders and instructions given, when persons were detained and temporarily arrested, incidents that we all, meaning the members of the People's Police, have sharply condemned. Our office heads have apologized, expressed their regret, and initiated measures that will in the future rule out such violations. I say here expressly that we will do everything in our power to thoroughly assess the events and draw conclusions to repair the damage done. However, I would also like to say that these violations which I regret very much and for which I expressly apologize to the citizens concerned, cannot be a reason to discriminate against the whole of the People's Police, or call into question the dignity and the reputation of tens of thousands of honest, diligent, and popular members of the People's Police, our section chiefs, our police, and our plainclothes police.

Our constitutional mandate continues to protect the building of socialist society and the achievements of the people—and this holds particularly true for the period of renewal—and to ensure the citizens' peaceful life and rights. In this spirit, the honest aspiration to serve the people, we educate and train our members at our schools and in the system of political and specialist advanced training as well as in daily political-ideological work.

Our policemen, officers, and civilian employees have proved time and again that they work for our citizens in a dedicated way. In this way, it was possible to continuously strengthen law and order in our cities and municipalities, efficiently combat crime, reduce fires and damages caused by fires, and to further stabilize security in road traffic, to mention just a few examples. In this respect, hundreds of thousands of voluntary helpers support us, and many citizens work together with our organs in a trusting relationship. That has essentially contributed to the fact that in our socialist state, public law and order are guaranteed so our citizens can live and work in quiet and security. They can organize their work, their leisure time, and their life in quiet and peace every day.

It is a fact that there is hardly any other country with a similarly low crime rate as the GDR, even though we are not satisfied in this respect. People certainly do not assess police work equally. What some people consider valuable help—if a missing child is brought back unharmed, for instance—may be to others—who are told that they have violated traffic rules, for instance—tutelage or even chicanery. Often enough, emotions play a role which affect clear reason.

The Duty To Fulfill the Tasks in a Correct and Polite Manner

The success of our work depends essentially on the correct behavior and the proper measures of our People's Police as well as on the citizens' understanding. Our members are bound by the law and by official regulations to solve their tasks in a correct, consistent, and polite way. Let me refer to the events and disturbances of public order and security during the first October days. In connection with the events of recent weeks, our leading organs and riot police were guided by the mandate that has been given to them by the Constitution and by the law on the tasks and powers of the German People's Police. I do not have to mention the global defamation and the slander of Western mass media to discriminate against the German People's Police. We do not expect our enemies to praise us. However, it makes us sad to see the relationship between our citizens and the People's Police disturbed.

As I said, we regret very much that members of our organs have transgressed their powers and have violated the law. These members—for no matter what reasons they did what they did; and the reasons were different—have done considerable damage to our cause in this complicated situation.

However, it must also be clear that if resistance or violence is put up against efforts to maintain or restore public order and security and protect the citizens' life and health, it is our legal duty to take countermeasures by adequate means.

That has regrettably become necessary owing to provocative forces who used violence and who, under the influence of alcohol, attacked the special forces.

Even if demonstrations are peaceful, they can lead to serious disturbances of public order. They paralyze public transport. Urgent ambulance services, supply transports, and commuter traffic cannot move or are seriously hindered because of these disturbances. The disturbances of public order and security in the days between 2 and 8 October in Dresden, Berlin, and Leipzig range from the obstruction of public life, damage to property, including railroad facilities in Dresden, to massive attacks on the citizens' life and health, and to calls for active resistance against legally necessary measures.

However, it also remains a fact that riot police were physically attacked by hooligans or persons with a police record in actions that were carried out by their organizers as peaceful demonstrations. For hooligans and troublemakers and antisocial persons—whom we still have—such opportunities of confrontation with the People's Police are a welcome occasion.

They are always ready for confrontation and violence, and they represent a serious threat to law and order and security in our cities and municipalities, a danger to our citizens.

Our country's citizens, including those who take part in demonstrations with a peaceful intention, also have a right to security and to a normal public and social life.

No Cloak of Charity for Lawbreakers

Based on this, the actions of the People's Police are characterized by utmost reserve and circumspection. In the past few weeks, members of our organs have been clearly instructed and ordered to comply with this.

Additionally, our members do feel the effects of the virulent campaign by the FRG and West Berlin mass media. Those on the other side of the border who want to change the conditions of power in our country are mainly directing their efforts against our party, against the protecting and security organs as firm bastions of our worker-peasant state, and against the things we have accomplished in 40 years of honest and sincere work.

Permit me to mention one idea in this context. People's policemen are also people and citizens with feelings and emotions. Not every action with which they are confronted can always be predicted. Despite this, I state with determination: Where a member does not behave in accordance with law and order, he was and is called to account. This was the case in the past and this will also be the case in the future. Even though this is very painful, we will neither keep silence on behavior that harms the authority of the German People's Police and the confidence placed in it nor cover it with the cloak of charity.

Comrades, the things that were defined at the ninth plenum and are resolved at our present session, that is, to consider thoroughly and seriously how to fulfill our tasks even better and more effectively, also fully apply to us. This requires even harder and more effective work and the overcoming of all that impedes us by a clever approach and the realistic activities of our members, together with and for the citizens.

We are certain of the support and the active participation of all. Without a legal system of high standing that corresponds to the development of our socialist society, fruitful progress cannot be secured. We firmly stick to the principle of the equality of all citizens before the law. In this respect, we will also have to thoroughly examine the bases of our activities—for example, the People's Police law and other laws—with regard to bureaucratic characteristics and obstacles. We will consistently participate in the renewal and the positive changes required and help to shape them. As the police of the people, we will staunchly and responsibly do our duty.

Herger Speech

AU1511100989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 pp 6-7

[Speech by Politburo Member Wolfgang Herger, secretary of the Central Committee, at the 10th Central Committee session in Berlin on 10 November: "Renewal of Entire Political System Necessary"]

[Excerpts] Dear comrades, as a member of the Central Committee I assume a share in the responsibility for the situation in which our party and country have landed. It is a situation that can only be described as a political crisis, even though some are afraid to use this term.

The responsibility for it is neither to be sought with our people nor with our party, as some wrongly continue to claim. The responsibility lies with our party's leadership.

It is not true that there have been no signals, signals particularly from within our own party. In many talks comrades or citizens from my constituency informed me about pent-up and unsettled problems. People from all walks of life have sent us thousands of letters explaining why they want to leave this country. Some of these problems were solved in a humane way, in line with our Marxist-Leninist ideology, according to which the state must not administer the citizens or regard them as its property, but has to serve them.

We have observed such signals, thought about them, but failed to understand them as an invitation to act, an invitation to bring about fundamental changes in the party's leadership. It will be difficult to explain the reasons to our party and our people. In my opinion, these are not to be found in our socialist order, neither in the people nor in the party. They lie above all in the subjective sphere. They lie in a style of leadership that is neither democratic nor democratic-centralist, but that was authoritarian and autocratic. There were talks of collective action, but this principle was permanently violated.

Two Blatantly Incorrect Assessments

I am thinking of two blatantly incorrect assessments and wrong decisions.

First, one wrong decision, which has had a negative impact on all on us, was made in the years 1985-86, when we failed to understand what was the most important signal even for us: The beginning of the revolutionary restructuring in the USSR. Of course, there was and is no need to copy this development. This is not what matters. What was important was that we emphasized in words that we supported the restructuring in the USSR, but clearly refused to believe that it might have an importance for us as well. Thus, we maneuvered ourselves into a situation that was particularly paradoxical for German Communists, namely to lose or even renounce one of our vital slogans, which is "To learn from the USSR means to learn how to win." We thought that everything was all right in the GDR, and that one would ultimately realize where perestroyka and glasnost would lead. Lenin described such an attitude as communist arrogance. Second, we also received several signals that the party leadership would have to make changes—normal ones, for reasons of age. Several courageous comrades and other courageous citizens even made such proposals in letters. However, for too long we harbored the illusion that the necessary renewal of socialism in the GDR would be possible with Comrade Erich Honecker

and other comrades of the former Politburo. Moreover—and this was the decisive obstacle—we were permanently reminding ourselves of the specter of the division of the party. This was probably our crucial mistake, which was rooted in ill-conceived party discipline and an ill-conceived understanding of the unity of the party.

Egon Krenz and other comrades took the initiative to make the overdue changes in the party leadership. I hope that these did not come too late, and I will try hard to make good for the loss of confidence, especially in our own party. Therefore it is correct to convene a party conference as quickly as possible, which is what we have done today.

I am convinced that we also must renew our Central Committee, and this has to take place at this party conference.

What are the essential conclusions for our party?

1. It is important to initiate a truly revolutionary renewal of socialism in our country. It is not a question of mere changes or of opportunists. What matters is a fundamental new beginning. The term renewal implies that we can and must continue of the basis of what already exits. The workers' class, the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, and all working people of our country have created the GDR, a socialist country in central Europe, which is respected all over the world. This achievement must not be endangered. [passage omitted)

It is Vital To Establish the Collective Spirit at All Levels

We ought to pay more attention to the experiences—both positive and less positive—of the USSR and of the other socialist countries.

2. I agree with Egon Krenz: The renewal of socialism is inseparably linked with the renewal of our party. In this context it will be decisive how we manage to recreate the collective spirit of the party at all levels and to introduce mechanisms that help to prevent once and for all such bad developments as in the past, which was pointed out by Wilfried Possner in this context. [passage omitted]

Thus, I support the proposal to draw up a new party statute, which contains clear regulations that prevent such bad developments being repeated. I also support the proposal that this question should be discussed at length in the basic organizations of our party.

3. I also advocate a reform of our entire political system. These days one can often hear—and we all feel it very much—that power is at stake. Yes, comrades, power is at stake. The power of the workers and peasants, the power of the working people. This must not be confused with personal power.

No Alternative to Reform in All Spheres

The resignation of the government was a necessary step. For many it was yet another shock. However, we are speaking of a new beginning in our country, of the renewal of socialism, and this is comparable with a reform in all spheres. This may be painful, but there is no other alternative.

I am in favor of the idea of forming a coalition government or a government on the basis of a grand coalition, in which our party, other parties, and different social forces would be represented. Those people ought to become ministers, that is to say servants to the people, that enjoy the confidence of the people, and those that are the most able ones.

As far as our party is concerned, I believe that we have assured ourselves—assured ourselves! —for too long that its role is established by the Constitution. What is true is that the Constitution mentions the leading role of the workers' class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

There are hardly any people in our country that would challenge the leading role of the workers' class and of the working people. Yet there are some people that challenge or even attack the leading role of our party. No matter in what way one discusses this issue, such a claim cannot be decreed; we must fight for it every day. [passage omitted]

4. I am sure we all agree that in times of a new beginning, in times of revolutionary renewal we need a sufficient degree of public order and security —for at least two reasons. First, because in the context of dynamic social changes, there is always a danger that antisocialist forces or even people who take a strange pleasure in turmoil and violent action might take advantage of peaceful developments to cause social chaos. Second, public order and security are a special driving force for changes that serve man. [passage omitted].

Nonviolence—A Vital Consensus

As long as we can rely on our People's Police, the comrades that are responsible for state security, the National People's Army, the GDR border troops, and not least the militant groups of the workers' class, we can bring about revolutionary renewal without falling into chaos and anarchy. There is obviously a sound consensus in the current public discussion, namely that of nonviolence. We ought to seek understanding with all those forces that sincerely support socialism that this must be a fundamental condition for the further development.

At the same time, I consider it necessary to create a new legal basis for public order and state security. I share the opinion of all the comrades in the Central Committee dealing with this subject that the protective and security bodies must be subject to the control of the supreme people's representative body. We agree that the renewal of socialism also includes the renewal of these bodies. [passage omitted]

During these days we have had many meetings with our comrades. We receive letters, that reflect much concern, but also much confidence in our Central Committee. This is encouraging!

Schuerer Speaks

AU1511093089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 9

[Speech by Gerhard Schuerer, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Planning Commission, at the 10th SED Central Committee session in Berlin on 10 November: "Reflections on Comprehensive Economic Reform"]

[Excerpt] I fully support the speech of the general secretary, Comrade Egon Krenz. For me, this Central Committee plenum, the policy of change, and the renewal of the party are a great experience and, at the same time, a period of deep reflection, self-criticism, and responsibility.

I feel responsible for what has happened in the economy and also for the political situation. Despite all the attempts to change the economic policy in time, the fact cannot be ignored that we have come too late. Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that "he who comes too late is punished by life" has been confirmed. Now it is vital to clearly see the real situation of our country and our party. First I want to state my opinion on three basic political questions.

Selection of Cadres According to Specialized Knowledge and Character

1. Our Constitution and especially Article One on the party's leading role has been derived from the workers class' historic role as the main force of socialist society. We ourselves are responsible for the fact that this article is being discussed and questioned. We practically have to work anew for this claim, if this is possible at all, and then we will have to permanently meet these requirements. Today and in the near future it will be most important to discuss primarily our own duties, our own achievements, our work, our responsibility, the necessity to learn and to make positive changes. In the first place, we, as the party of the workers class, should advocate that the workers, peasants, and the working people themselves are present and listened to everywhere.

2. We should achieve our party's unity of action in equal cooperation with all social forces very soon and without any reservation. There is no reason why non-party members, members of other parties, church representatives, and also such people who recognize the Constitution and the socialist social order, but are still in opposition to us, should not be actively involved in the work and decisions and entrusted with responsible tasks. Obtaining the consensus of all democratic forces and the selection of cadres according to their specialized knowledge and character, are key, and I am convinced that we, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, also have excellently trained comrades of firm character.

I support the Hans Modrow's idea, that is, that our government can only be a democratic coalition government.

3. I fully support the development of an electoral draft law to implement democratic, free, and secret elections. At our 10th session, we are experiencing the vigor of collective deliberations and this is certainly only a beginning. Democratic, free, and secret elections will result in the confirmation of candidates who enjoy the voters' confidence and will warrant this confidence. In this respect, the individual has to take second place after the interest of the country.

I now want to comment on the comprehensive economic reform. In an intensive discussion with the working people of the Berlin Oberspree Cable Works, the following basic ideas were impressed upon me:

—The comprehensive economic reform will only be successful if it is a firm component of the change in the entire policy of our country's democratic development and also of our party's renewal.

—Not methodological changes, but basic changes of contents that presently inhibit continous production must be the focus. That is to say, to overcome the disproportion between the production of finished goods and the subcontracting industry, between purchasing power and commodity stocks, to guarantee a balance of materials with the most economical use of material, to renounce major new investments, to place modernization and rationalization in the foreground, and to solve pressing supply questions. [passage omitted]

Mayor of Goerlitz's Resignation Accepted

LD1511095189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0941 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] The Goerlitz Assembly of City Councillors today accepted the resignation of Kurt Butziger (SED) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] as mayor and deputy of the assembly of city councillors.

Pending the election of a new mayor, the first deputy, Gerhard Eichberg (SED), will take up office in the second-largest city in the Dresden Area.

Additional Berlin Bezirk Changes Reported

LD1411221389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2023 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Area [Bezirk] organization of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in Berlin elected on Tuesday at its 15th session Heinz Albrecht as its first secretary. Beforehand, in the presence of Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central

Committee, it thanked Guenter Schabowski for his successful activity at the head of the Berlin party organization since 1985 and released him from this function in connection with his assumption of a new responsibility as secretary of the SED Central Committee. [passage omitted]

In connection with her election as chairwoman of the Free German Trade Union Federation National Executive, the area organization released Annelis Kimmel from the function of member of the area organization and its Secretariat. The area organization also granted the request of the first secretary of the Free German Youth organization, Helmut Maier, to release him from membership of the secretariat of the SED area organization and thanked him for the work he has done.

Democratic Peasants' Party Figures Resign

LD1411132789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Democratic Peasants' Party Chairman Guenther Maleuda has come out in favor of a fundamentally new quality of work in his party in the process of social renewal. Speaking to the Party Executive, he said this approach is necessary if the party is to live up to its claim to make a fundamental and truly independent contribution to the new beginning and thus to a new socialism. In the past the party was too modest in its demands to truly implement the decisions of state power in the interests of the farmers. It was lacking in constructive action for progress in the countryside.

At the start of the session, Presidium members Scholz, Helmschrott, and Eichhorn resigned. The other members of the Presidium were confirmed in office by the executive in a secret ballot.

Neubrandenburg Elects New Party Leader

LD1411182389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—On Tuesday, the Neubrandenburg Socialist Unity Party of Germany Bezirk [area] organization unanimously elected Wolfgang Herrmann its new first secretary. Johannes Chemnitzer, the previous first secretary, had been released from his function beforehand. Applications from other members of the Secretariat to be released from their duties were granted. [passage omitted]

Maleuda Supports DBD as 'Sovereign Party'

LD1411193689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1809 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany], supported on Tuesday a change in Article 1 of the GDR Constitution, which establishes the leading role of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] in the country. [passage omitted]

At a meeting of the DBD Executive in Berlin, where Maleuda spoke, the 13th Party Congress was brought forward and convened for 1990 and a commission for working out a party program was set up. [passage omitted]

The party chairman stated further at the meeting that the DBD should become a sovereign party in all questions, which is especially committed to the development of a fundamentally renewed socialism in the village as well, which adopts government responsibility, and which is substantially represented in all leading committees in which decisions are made on work and life in the countryside. The peasants' party wants to make its contribution to the fundamental renewal of socialist society, to a new beginning for a modern socialism. According to Maleuda, the DBD also bears responsibility for the problems, contradictions and conflicts in the country. It has been too modest in its demands for a consistent implementation of decisions taken by the state in the interests of the peasants and has failed to provide constructive resistance on behalf of the progress of the countryside.

"We are not free from blame and far removed from the reproach directed at others that they should now carry their burden alone, a burden which will now have to be carried a long way. But we say clearly: The DBD Party Executive does not bear the blame which the recently resigned Sed Central Committee Politburo has to bear." The effectiveness of the party in implementing agricultural policy has always been great, but has decreased from 5-year plan to 5-year plan, which could be accorded to its lack of ability to push things through and the abuse of power by leadership committees of the SED.

Important topics in the discussion, which were stamped by the atmosphere of a new beginning but also by consternation concerning the crisis in GDR society, were the future profile of the DBD, its contribution to the renewal of socialism, nd questions of inner-party democracy. Speakers demanded the promotion of the peasants' awareness of being owners, which has decreased greatly, resistance to the destruction of forest stocks, and a stronger commitment from the party for environmental protection.

The deputy party chairman, Environmental Protection Minister Dr Hans Reichelt, demanded more investment for environmental protection in the industrial conurbations, because it is a matter here of the satisfaction of the elementary needs of the population. At the same time an energy policy, which restricts the combustion of fossil fuels, must be taken into account in the economic plan.

FDGB Omits Mention of SED Supremacy

LD1411181389 Hamburg DPA in German 1621 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] claim to leadership is no longer to be contained in the new constitution of the GDR trade

union FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation]. This claim, which is expressly recognized in the present constitution, will "certainly not" be contained in the new constitution being drawn up, the new FDGB chairman, Annelis Kimmel, told journalists in East Berlin today. The draft constitution and a working program are to be submitted at the next trade union congress, which will probably be held in February.

In order to put a stop to the possibility of GDR citizens moonlighting in the West, offered by the opening of the GDR border, there is a need for agreement at state and trade level, said Frau Kimmel. Regulations must be implemented to prevent GDR citizens from working in the West even on a short-term basis. [passage omitted]

Frau Kimmel went on to advocate a new image for the FDGB. The trade union has lost its character, she said, because it has followed SED policy almost unquestioningly. She explained that the structure of the FDGB will be changed.

The trade union will develop its own ideas on the planned economic reform in the GDR, and will coordinate with the new prime minister, Hans Modrow, said Frau Kimmel. There will certainly no longer be the rigid adherence to the fixed reference numbers in the enterprises. She indicated that the independence and self-responsibility of the combines and enterprises will be increased.

There should also be changes within the FDGB trade unions. The individual industrial trade unions should be granted greater independence. In the past, the prices and wages policy were "taken out of the hands of" the individual trade unions, Frau Kimmel explained. There must also be work on a new trade union law. The trade union must be allowed, if necessary, to take legal action against management opposing legitimate concerns of the workers. [passage omitted]

Democratic Block Prepares for Coalition

LD1411182189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The representatives of the parties cooperating in the Central Democratic Block met on Tuesday in Berlin to prepare for a coalition government, the Press Office of the Council of State said. Dr Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, presented his idea for forming a new government. A coalition government of all parties will be aimed at on this basis.

Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee; Guenter Maleuda, chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany]; Lothar de Maziere, chairman of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union]; Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany]; and Guenter Hartmann, chairman of the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany], offered relevant proposals in this connection. The negotiations are being continued.

Krenz Comments on Leipzig Demonstrations

AU1411195089 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Malte Olschewski report on statements by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, after the People's Chamber session in Berlin on 13 November]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] When leaving the People's Chamber, Krenz referred to the question of why demonstrations against him are taking place in Leipzig:

[Begin Krenz recording] This is because a great people's movement, which is developing into an even better form of socialism, has come into existence in our country. You have to ask why the individuals in Leipzig take to the streets there. However, I would say: Do not proceed on the assumption that this is opposition to the GDR! [end recording]

Krenz-Kohl Telephone Conversation Noted

AU1511103589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Nov 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Another Telephone Conversation Between Krenz and Kohl"]

[Text] Berlin—Egon Krenz, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl conducted another telephone conversation on Saturday [11 November]. They had an intensive exchange of opinion on further steps of cooperation between the GDR and the FRG.

Federal Chancellor Kohl welcomed the travel regulations that the GDR has put into force. He said that in his view, they would help develop the relations between the two German states further.

Egon Krenz stressed that the measures were taken by full, sovereign decision of the GDR. They are an expression of the policy of renewal in the GDR, and the people's interests are the centerpiece of this policy. The general secretary said that in cooperation, both sides must be businesslike and predictable and show good will. He stressed that the travel regulations enacted by the GDR were an advance concession. He said that the FRG should consider the way it could support these decisions which are in the people's interests. He said that making the borders more penetrable could by no means mean that existing borders were called into question. He said that stability in the relations between the two German states remained a decisive prerequisite for stability on the European continent.

Egon Krenz agreed with Federal Chancellor Kohl's consideration that every radicalization must be prevented

now. The general secretary stressed that this was particularly dangerous on the border between the GDR and the FRG and Berlin (West). He said that it was common sense that required clarifying any questions that the sides concerned may have in a calm way and in joint responsibility. He stressed that it was in the interests of the sides concerned to contain the emotions that have come up, and to eliminate any illusions that certain persons may harbor.

Egon Krenz stressed that reunification is not on the agenda. Federal Chancellor Kohl, quoting the FRG Basic Law, stressed the necessity to discuss practical joint steps in a businesslike atmosphere. He suggested that Federal Minister Rudolf Seiters should go to Berlin for talks on 20 November this year. Egon Krenz agreed.

The general secretary and the federal chancellor stressed both sides' interest in more far-reaching forms of cooperation. Egon Krenz pointed in particular to the areas of the economy, environmental protection, transport, post and telecommunications, culture, and the humanitarian area.

Federal Chancellor Kohl suggested the possibility of a personal meeting between Egon Krenz and himself in the GDR. Egon Krenz said that he agreed.

In conclusion, the general secretary wished the federal chancellor, who continued his visit to the People's Republic of Poland in the afternoon, a good conclusion to his talks. He asked the chancellor to convey his personal regards to the representatives of the neighboring country in the east, which is closely connected with the GDR.

FRG's Warnke Meets With New CDU Chairman

LD1411144989 Hamburg DPA in German 1340 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Juergen Warnke, Christian Social Union [CSU] deputy chairman and federal minister for economic cooperation, met the new GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU] chairman, Lothar de Maiziere, in East Berlin today for a conversation.

Following the 45-minute talk, Warnke told journalists that with the election of de Maiziere one obstacle to a meeting between the sister parties of the two states has been overcome. The CSU has followed with great sympathy developments in the GDR on the way toward the rule of law, free elections, economic reforms, environmental protection, and self-determination.

De Maiziere said the talk also showed up differences between him and Warnke. Thus he made it clear that the GDR population derives its identity from socialism. Warnke said that even socialism is subject to self-determination, but he also advocated contacts at all party levels. Referring to new forms of economic cooperation, the CSU politician said that the instruments for such cooperation do exist. The problem now is to see the areas in which the GDR is seeking to introduce reforms.

The GDR CDU politician stressed to Warnke the great economic difficulties that the GDR faces. In the GDR a great loss of confidence in all social forces has taken place among broad sections of the population. De Maiziere did not exclude his party from this. The number of members leaving the party is "worrying."

Kohl's Annaberg Plans Criticized

AU1211153589 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 89 p 5

[Peter Venus article: "Not a Bit of Human Decency"]

[Text] The lightning visit of the chancellor's adviser Teltschik to Warsaw changed nothing about the Polish Government's position: Kohl's plan to attend a German church service in Annaberg [Gora Swietej Anny] during his state visit was out of the question. Kohl dropped his plan; however, we cannot just check off this event, because it provides deep insight into this Federal Government's attitude and state.

Annaberg is not just any place in Poland. It is located in Upper Silesia, in the district of Opole (formerly Oppeln), a region where the border of the first Polish Republic, which was founded after the Treaty of Versailles in 1918, was extremely controversial and still open. (It was definitely defined by the League of Nations in 1922). The Polish population emphatically demanded being connected with Poland. Three uprisings took place which have gone down in history as the Silesian uprisings. The decisive battle took place at the "Mountain of St. Anna" on 21 May 1921. It was the most serious Polish defeat by the Germans at that time. The notorious "Rossbach" and "Oberland" free corps took part in it. They caused a real bloodbath among the Polish insurgents. Since then, Annaberg has been to the Poles a symbol of national honor. The fascists have always considered it a symbol of the struggle against "Versailles."

It is on this mountain, of all places, drenched by Polish blood shed by the Germans, that the chancellor of this Federal Republic of Germany intended to attend a German mass. On this occasion, he intended to meet spokesmen of the German ethnic minority. As TRYBUNA LUDU wrote, these spokesmen have extremely good relations with the Silesian refugee organization and with the League of Expelled Persons in the FRG. These revanchist organizations are known to demand—in agreement with Bonn federal ministers—the restoration of the German Reich in the borders of 1937. It is almost unnecessary to say that Annaberg is located within those borders. Let us repeat: All of this was supposed to take place during an official state visit! And when the Polish Government reacted with considerable annoyance, the federal chancellor's office let it be known that this showed how much "reconciliation with Poland was still at the beginning!"

It would be naive to believe that the historic implications were not known to the Federal Government or that choosing Annaberg was a mere coincidence. No, this is in line with the political course of this Christian Democratic Union [CDU], a German national conservative home-to-the-Reich policy, and it is an icy cold calculation—exploiting every possibility with regard to Poland, so as to demonstrate at home that there can be no other party right of the CDU.

It is known that sensitivity is not Helmut Kohl's strong point. Nonetheless, we should at least expect a bit of human decency and respect for other people's national feelings, particularly toward Poland. We would expect this even of a man who claims that he has the luck of being born late.

West Berliners 'Serious Provocation' at Border

AU1211162789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[ADN report: "Serious Provocation by West Berlin Rowdies at Border"]

[Excerpt] Potsdam (ADN)—During the night of 3-4 November 1989, a serious provocation was carried out at the national border with Berlin (West) in the village of Klein Glienicke. Several rowdies from Berlin (West) threw stones and steel rods at apartment houses in Klein Glienicke. The windows of the apartments of several families were damaged. [passage omitted]

Krenz Congratulates Jaruzelski on Holiday

AU1411155789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Telegram to President of the People's Republic of Poland"]

[Text] Egon Krenz has conveyed a congratulatory telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the People's Republic of Poland, on the 71st anniversary of Poland's regained independence.

Special CDU Congress Advocated

AU0911123289 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 6 Nov 89 p 2

[NEUE ZEIT report: "Call for Special CDU Congress"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (NZ)—In the course of the debate in our party, the convening of a party congress is also discussed. The draft for discussion entitled "Positions of the CDU on the Present and Future" says: The proposal is made to convene the 17th CDU Congress early. [passage omitted]

CDU Defines Principles of Parliamentary Work

AU0911122689 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 6 Nov 89 p 1

[NEUE ZEIT report: "Statement of the CDU Parliamentary Group: Principles for Parliamentary Work"]

[Text] Berlin (NZ)—At its latest conference, on which we already reported in our Saturday [4 November] edition, the People's Chamber group of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] adopted the following declaration:

The CDU draft position paper on the present and future says:

The CDU is an independent party in its own right. With equal rights, it cooperates with the other parties and organziations in the Democratic Bloc and regards the alliance as an indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of joint objectives.

The CDU Group states: The results for parliamentary work are:

—that law-making is not determined by decisions taken by deputies outside the people's representation, but is only subject to the formation of will within the People's Chamber;

—that political decisions on legislation are exlusively made in the People's Chamber and the government only uses decisions of the supreme people's representation as basis for its work;

—that the government is exclusively responsible to parliament and the parliamentarians only to the people.

The CDU Group is of the opinion that the GDR People's Chamber can only be our country's supreme organ of power if these principles are implemented.

Acting CDU Chairman Discusses Demonstrations

AU0911160189 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 7 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Acting CDU Chairman Wolfgang Heyl by unidentified NEUE ZEIT journalist; date and place not given: "The Will of Our Members Obligates Us To Think and Act Consistently"]

[Excerpt] [NEUE ZEIT] At the demonstration by hundreds of thousands in Berlin and in many other cities, many, very specific, and partly contradictory demands were made. However, if we see this correctly, all demands involved the further shaping of the alliance and the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in the society. What is the view of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] in this respect?

[Heyl] First of all, I would like to say that these demonstrations achieved within a very short time that which so many others, not least the Evangelical and Catholic bishops, had long been demanding in many talks.

The citizens are to be the rulers of the state, and the state organs have to serve them. Every claim to leadership is to be checked by the people's will. It is certainly not too much to say that particularly the dissent that has become clear in this connection, has decisively contributed to the current situation.

Furthermore, the unambiguous stipulations of Section Five of the Constitution have to be valid or be made valid again: "At no time and under no circumstances can power be exercised by someone else than by the constitutionally envisaged organs." In my view, this rules out that a party apparatus can stand above constitutionally envisaged organs, that is, first and foremost, above the people's representative bodies.

In some expressions of opinion, it has been demanded that the CDU should gain its profile as an autonomous party, which is independent of the Democratic Bloc. Autonomous and independent, these are terms which I emphasize. But outside the Democratic Bloc? However, the Bloc has to become again that which its fathers, particularly Otto Nuschke, wanted to achieve with it: a legally fixed body, in which every party has only one vote, in which all decisive political questions are discussed equally and frankly by all, and where only those things can be binding for all that have met with the consensus of all parties. At the moment, I do not see any other body for a real balance of political interests.

[NEUE ZEIT] Today the draft of the travel law has been published by the press. Do you think that it contains those regulations which the citizens have long expected and demanded?

[Heyl] I think that the proposal contains essential parts of this, but that equally essential parts are missing. And why is the term "permission" so often used in the text? Why can the issuing of a passport not also mean that the citizen may travel? If there are justified grounds for denial, one can proceed from the premise that a passport is not issued in the first place, as this is also done in other countries.

The regulation is unsatisfactory concerning financial means for trips, because if there are no such means, the whole thing remains a theoretical matter for many citizens. Furthermore, questions of such different importance as trips and leaving the country permanently should not be dealt with in one single law.

[NEUE ZEIT] Last week a talk took place between the chairman of the Berlin CDU and the chairman of the West Berlin CDU. Is this meeting of basic importance for a future new relationship between our party and the CDU/Christian Social Union [CSU] in the FRG?

[Heyl] We are for such talks—and not just since today and yesterday—because they are important, normal, and promising for the future. We have cultivated relations with Christian democratic parties of other countries for years. I think that concerning the relations with the CDU/CSU, it is worth more than just one attempt to find out how we can consolidate things involving our common Christian responsibility with mutual respect and knowledge of the respective position in politics and society and the profound differences. If dialogue can be called a beginning of this, then it has an effect that reaches far beyond one single day. [passage omitted]

New Forum Holds Discussion in Erfurt

AU0911172889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Demonstrations and Disputes on the Development in the GDR"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On Monday [6 November] almost all members of the Bezirk Council participated in an often heated discussion in the overcrowded Preacher's Church in Erfurt, to which the organizations of the New Forum had invited. "We are not moving into an uncertain future, things can only get better," said one of the speakers at the dicussion said amid long-lasting applause, addressing all those who are thinking about leaving the GDR. [passage omitted]

New Forum Cofounder Bohley on Reforms

PM1011111689 Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Nov 89 p 7

[Interview with New Forum co-founder Baerbel Bohley—date and place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: Are you surprised to see so many East Germans emigrating to the FRG?

Baerbel Bohley: The East German system is destructive. I am independent, I have an enviable position. But, in the enterprises, the people are under pressure from their bosses, they have to work for 8 hours in poor conditions, with old-fashioned tools. In addition, in recent years, the government thought it could rival the West. In a way, it encouraged consumption. And it increased frustration accordingly. I fully understand why people are leaving for the West.

You can only live here by giving up many things. I was raised in a city which was in ruins and already divided. In the West, life improved; here, virtually nothing changed. Friends left for the other side. For 40 years, I have seen people leave for the West. When you have seen that all your life, it can no longer upset you.

A Different Society

LE FIGARO: Should they be held back?

Baerbel Bohley: I have nothing to say to those people. Of course, I would be pleased to see them return. But it is not worth begging them to stay. Even the Church made that mistake. It is better to call the government to account, because for 40 years it has kept us in this rut.

LE FIGARO: If the collapse of the regime gathers speed, is New Forum prepared to share power with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]?

Baerbel Bohley: Yes. The question is whether the SED is prepared to do that. We do not have the choice. The opposition is not strong enough to take power. Most of those who had a say have left for the West. The SED is a strong party and it contains people who are ready for reforms.

LE FIGARO: So, you see the start of a process similar to the one which Hungary has been experiencing for 18 months....

Baerbel Bohley: Yes. Many things have changed in a short time. There is enormous pressure on the SED. But we must first know who is going to occupy the empty places in the Politburo and the government.

LE FIGARO: Does New Forum have direct contacts with SED reformers?

Baerbel Bohley: No, not yet. Discussions have started. For the time being, the dialogue which the SED has started is primarily a tactical method of resuming the initiative.

LE FIGARO: Would you say that the situation in the GDR is revolutionary?

Baerbel Bohley: For the GDR it certainly is. It is a surprise to see people who were silent and mute speaking so loudly. They just had to say "no" once and to see that it worked. They acquired a taste for it and are continuing.

Values Other Than Profit

LE FIGARO: How do you explain the fact that the search for a "new form of socialism" comes up frequently in statements by the opposition? The impression is that nobody wants to take the plunge....

Baerbel Bohley: Socialism has never existed in the GDR. I see it as something entirely different. People here know that the Western societies are societies which exploit man, and which exploit the environment. They know that the problems of the future cannot be solved by a capitalist system.... This rejection of the West contains the desire for a different society. It cannot yet be defined. It could be called socialist. A different word should be found.

LE FIGARO: It is often said that communism has frozen the situation for 40 years. Now that things are thawing in the GDR, what remains of the thought structures of the Third Reich?

Baerbel Bohley: They are politely hidden. People here pretend that vestiges of Nazism are all in the West. But until now a totalitarian power has been imposed on the individual in the GDR and all opponents have been seen as criminals.

And then there is the ritual apsect—pioneers waving flags, sports festivals, the Free German Youth's blue shirts and its torchlight processions. The aim was to organize the whole of society.

LE FIGARO: Is German reunification a subject of discussion within the opposition?

Baerbel Bohley: Look at Saturday's demonstration in Berlin. Was there a single slogan or banner on that subject? No. So, things are clear!

LE FIGARO: Is it a taboo subject?

Baerbel Bohley: No. It is a subject which fuels election campaigns in West Germany. After 40 years, there are two different societies. The West German lifestyle is entirely foreign to us. We have the same language, that is all. Germany's glorious years were not the years in which it was united. A confederation might be the solution. But what the FRG wants is unification, imposing its model. The East Germans do not want to get rid of 40 years of history.

LE FIGARO: Does this mean that 40 years of communism sufficed to give the GDR an identity....

Baerbel Bohley: There is an identity which has nothing to do with communism or socialism; it has to do with Thueringen, Mecklenburg, a region, a way of life. It is our identity and it would be threatened if Germany was united. We must find values other than profit. In this little country, we have the chance of preserving and improving what exists. If the whole GDR was for reunification, I would fight for Mecklenburg's independence!

LE FIGARO: Do you really believe that profit is West German society's only mainspring?

Baerbel Bohley: I say that the FRG is a society based on exploitation. In addition, the West German leaders exploit the GDR in the ideological and spiritual spheres. That is fine, it is their way of supporting us, of saying that we are brothers and sisters. Those are lies.... All things considered, the FRG needs us in order to believe that it is the best Germany. It is like the aunts who arrive from West Germany with bags of food filled with oranges (to visit their nephews in East Germany) and who leave again in the evening with a good conscience.

LE FIGARO: Do you feel that you are a citizen of the GDR?

Baerbel Bohley: No, I feel German. History is there. I cannot change it.

More From Bohley

AU0911152489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU
in German 9 Nov 89 p 10

[Interview with New Forum cofounder Baerbel Bohley by Broka Herrmann for the November issue of the

Hessian Greens' monthly STICHWORT GRUEN; date and place not given: "They Do Not Have Much Time"]

[Text] Herrmann: One million people in East Berlin's streets—what will happen next?

Bohley: It was a great feeling, but regrettably, we cannot forget the very obvious negative elements. For all its restraint, the State Security Service was very strongly present and initially also made the people feel uncertain. For instance, a girlfriend of mine who has spied on us for 6 years took part in the protest march. And Markus Wolf, the former State Security chief, came to me to demonstratively shake hands with me for the GDR press. Many things are just superficial. I do not believe in the possibility of clearing people of their past. As before, the state is making considerable efforts to adopt the movement. The fact that the climate has changed under pressure from the population, and not as a result of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] showing a new understanding, is being constantly blurred by officials.

Herrmann: On the other hand, thousands are still emigrating every day. What will have to change very soon?

Bohley: I am afraid that, unfortunately, the GDR will lose even more people because the reforms do not have an immediate effect. It has a lot to do with credibility, which still has not been restored. There is nothing tangible. I just read the new travel laws, and I have realized that travel can still be prohibited on "national security" grounds. These decisions are deliberate and are not juridically contestable, as the text of the law clearly shows. "National security" was always the reason given for denying us travel permits. So this is a repressive term for a decision that is not usable in any way. People suspect, of course, that our bureaucracy will be restructured but will yield the same result.

Herrmann: Is the SED—first of all Krenz—at all able to carry out real reforms?

Bohley: The SED is unable to do so on its own; these people's minds are too petrified. They only react to pressure from the people who do not cease from demonstrating and who do not cease from leaving the country. They do not have much time left.

Herrmann: Will there be free elections?

Bohley: Free elections are necessary, and that is the only way to decide whether the GDR is really reformable.

Herrmann: Are there any indications in this respect?

Bohley: The new election law is allegedly being prepared. How it will be handled is a different thing. There are demands of the opposition that in addition to the parties, independent candidates should also be able to be elected to parliament, for instance, candidates of the New Forum.

Herrmann: Does the New Forum not intend to constitute itself as a party?

Bohley: We do not want to become a party; nonetheless, we want to have our own deputies. The new alternative movement is as important as new parties. We feel linked to the grass roots too much and do not want to estrange ourselves from the initiatives, as parties usually do. After 40 years of tutelage, we believe that the people can only become responsible with the help of a strong grass- roots movement. The Greens in the FRG are an example which warns us of this. I have always had the impression that there is a sharp division between the people in Bonn and the grass roots. In addition, too much creativeness is being lost in internal and external power struggles.

Herrmann: Will the New Forum be recognized now?

Bohley: It would be absurd for the Interior Ministry to refuse to admit us, while hundreds of thousands in the streets call for our legalization. That would make even more people take to the streets.

Herrmann: Is there a debate on reunification within the GDR opposition?

Bohley: One of the most impressive things last Saturday [4 November] was that not a word was said about reunification and that nobody demanded, "We want Kohl," or something like that.

Herrmann: Has this question been put aside for tactical reasons for the time being, or does it really not play a role?

Bohley: This question does not currently concern the people; that does not mean, however, that reunification could not take hold of the people's minds in the long run. It also has to do with regional developments. Such a demand tends to be taken up in Thueringen, Mecklenburg, and Dresden rather than in Berlin. This depends very much on what real changes will be carried out here. If such changes do not come, the people will stake their hopes solely on the West. However, at present, the people advocate reforms in the GDR.

Herrmann: In what way does the New Forum discuss the justification of a second German state once socialism is no longer available as an alternative?

Bohley: Socialism is not the only alternative to the social system in the FRG. It cannot be our goal to exploit man and nature, as is being done in the West. The GDR would have a right to exist if it were able to answer questions about the future independently of the two systems existing in East and West. Now we have a chance to conduct this discussion on values, which could lead to a social system beyond capitalism and real existing socialism. Social justice and an intact environment are assessed very highly in our country. These requirements are also significantly anchored in the so-called common man, not only among intellectuals.

Herrmann: Could such a state play a role within a unified Europe?

Bohley: No. In such an isolated country, people are currently feeling like the hub of the world, and they feel that this is a historic moment. For all its world-political importance, this question would be too much for us for the moment.

Herrmann: According to opinion poll results, 80 percent of those who have left the GDR do not have a high opinion of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. Has social democracy backed the SED too much?

Bohley: On the one hand, I believe that the SPD does not understand many feints of the SED, has banked too much on the idea that this party is reformable, and has thus acquired a bad image among the GDR opposition. On the other hand, we simply must see that many frustrated resettlers have fallen for the Christian Democratic idea of consumption and simply link the idea of reunification with the idea of a small home in Mecklenburg.

Herrmann: Reunification is also being discussed among the Greens.

Bohley: Only those who intend to destroy our delicate, young plant and are not interested in democratization in the GDR can be in favor of reunification.

Justice Minister Heusinger on Renewal

AU1211203589 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 7 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Hans-Joachim Heusinger, GDR justice minister and deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, by Rolf Aldus; date and place not given: "Place the Process of Renewal on Stable Legal Bases"]

[Text] DER MORGEN: In your opinion, what is the essential prerequisite for restoring the citizens' confidence in the state?

Heusinger: The state must make clear every day and in all areas, in statements and resolutions that it is a state ruled by the law. The essential prerequisite in this respect is the fact that state power must be strictly based on the law. Well-tried positions of socialist law must be combined with new considerations to establish effective legal mechanisms which allow us to put a new concept of socialism into practice and to rule out errors and distortions in social practice. The current crisis situation shows the broad public that this is not a specific task of the judiciary but a task concerning the whole of society.

DER MORGEN: What conclusions are you drawing from this fact regarding the tasks that your ministry will have to solve, and what criteria are dominant in this respect?

Heusinger: The impact on legislature will be considerable. The process of renewal must be placed on a stable legal basis. Let me add this: We did not work without concepts in the past either. We believed that we were sufficiently covering and pushing the social development by our 5-year legislative plans. However, I must frankly admit that this is not enough. New social realities have emerged.

Our Constitution which has been in force since 1974 constitutes the legal basis for our future work. The further development of our legal system, application of the law, and law making must be carried out in its framework. That includes the idea that the constitutionality of all legal provisions is controlled by a competent and independent organ. It is absolutely necessary that the role of the laws adopted by our People's Chamber be placed on a much higher level in our legal system. The citizens' basic rights and liberties can only be shaped by laws that have been adopted by the People's Chamber. Any existing "internal" regulations must be abrogated and can in the future not be decreed any more. Democratic legislation includes the fact that draft laws are thoroughly discussed in public and are not subject to secrecy, unless national security interests are affected.

DER MORGEN: Does that mean "glasnost" in legislation....? Do you also include here the novelty that the planned legislation which is drafted in your ministry will for the first time be submitted to the People's Chamber for discussion?

Heusinger: Yes, but this is just an initial step. We are preparing a law on how laws will have to be drafted, discussed, and passed. In this way, the basic lines of the state's policy, which are reflected by the laws, will become visible for the citizens and will be subjected to public control.

DER MORGEN: What concrete ideas are there in this respect?

Heusinger: The existing legislative projects which have been envisaged until 1990 according to the plan, will be reviewed under the aspect of the renewal which is now taking place. They include the redrafting of the Judicature Act, the redrafting of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the amendment and supplement to the Code of Civil Procedure. They must be submitted to the People's Chamber. By these laws the position and authority of the courts will have to be improved; their independent role in the state which is ruled by the law will have to be enhanced. Guarantees regarding the observance of the law in criminal proceedings and in particular in investigation proceedings will be extended. This includes extending the rights of all parties involved in court proceedings.

DER MORGEN: These statements refer to the current legislative plan. What about the new one...?

Heusinger: The order given to the judicial organs to prepare a long-term legislative plan for the Council of Ministers and the People's Chamber is being carried out in a responsible manner by the Ministry of Justice in cooperation with the other state organs and social organizations. The minister of justice will see to it that all

proposals for new laws submitted in public dialogue are collected and carefully examined by the competent state organs and bodies.

The regulations of the Criminal Code for the protection of the state, as well as for the protection of the state and public order must urgently be revised. The required changes must ensure that political conflicts are not criminalized but settled through political means. In future regulations, criminal offenses must be accurately defined.

Until this plan takes effect, it is necessary to present draft laws concerning the citizens' basic rights to the People's Chamber in the meantime. Besides the travel law, this must include a revision of the electoral law in the near future, as well as the drafting of a law on association, a law on the organization of events and demonstrations, and a press law (media law).

DER MORGEN: This is certainly not your complete catalog....

Heusinger: No, not at all. Already at this point, over 25 new laws seem to be necessary to provide a legal basis for the new concept of socialism. I am saying "already at this point" because the social changes that are currently taking place will certainly make further legal changes necessary.

DER MORGEN: Let me ask you a final question in your capacity as deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany: What is moving you as a liberal democrat during these days?

Heusinger: It is no coincidence for me that our party has been one of the initiators of the process of the renewal of socialism and has supported it vigorously. This applies in particular to the field of democracy and law. I know that I am continuing the long tradition pursued by liberal democratic politicians in the sphere of justice who have always vehemently advocated the right and liberties of the citizens and for whom the principles of the rule of law have always been sacrosanct. They have always supported a legal policy for which the citizens' interests are the yardsticks of all actions. I think that a particular obligation results from this tradition for me as a liberal democrat at this point.

Marxism-Leninism Institute's Statement Rescinded

AU1311123089 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Refutation by Ulrich Plenzdorf"]

[Text] Yesterday [6 November], ADN received a correction from Ulrich Plenzdorf concerning the declaration of the Marxism-Leninism Institute [IML] attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which was published by ADN on 2 November and 1 day later by the newspapers. His correction reads as follows:

"The memory protocol that I read and commented on in the Church of the Savior on 28 October at the event 'Against the Absence of Reason'. Artists Against Violence—For Democracy," must have really given rise to the impression that the excesses against citizens arrested by the People's Police took place in the building of the Marxism-Leninism Institute.

The author of the protocol of the night of 8 to 9 October was wrong in this respect. He was on a truck that was crammed with people and confused the entrance to Enterprise Protection Unit of the People's Police at the Marxism-Leninism Institute with the entrance to the police station at Immanuelkirchstrasse. He corrected his mistake as early as 13 October, and included the corrected protocol in an appeal to the general state prosecutor.

I had not yet received a corrected version of the collected protocols 'Days and Nights Following 7 October—Berlin', when I decided to read aloud that protocol in the course of that event.

Thus, the correct version is that in the police station on Immanuelkirchstrasse people were beaten up, had to run the gauntlet, were forced to stand against a wall for many hours, that they were regularly exposed to verbal abuses, insults, and degradations, and that arrested persons were prevented from going to sleep, and were rigorously criminalized for the sole reason of having been seen in the streets at a certain time.

The declaration of the IML insinuates that this did not really happen but that all this were freely fabricated claims that would not stand up to examination.

Among other things, this will be the subject of examinations by a committee that has already been established.

I am painfully convinced that the investigation committee will arrive at the conclusion that the contents of this memory protocol and of many other similar protocols on identical experiences in other police stations are founded on facts. In that case I will insist on a public declaration on the part of the IML, stating that I did not at all distribute freely invented claims, but a report on facts - criminal facts."

At the same time, Ulrich Plenzdorf has conveyed to ADN a new, so-called corrected memory protocol, which ADN has passed on to the general state prosecutor of the GDR.

Finance Minister on Travel, Subsidies

AU1211182589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Finance Minister Ernst Hoefner by Otto Luck in Berlin—date not given]

[Excerpt] ND: Many questions of our readers on the draft law on travel refer to financing. What possibilities do you, as the finance minister, see?

Hoefner: I cannot yet announce any decision. We want to find a regulation which is acceptable to everyone and we do not want to make any promises which we cannot keep.

Many things are to be taken into consideration, such as the real situation of foreign currency supply and the extent of travel. Perhaps there will be more than 10 million citizens who go to capitalist countries every year.

Of course we already have ideas and proposals. They are aimed at using the GDR's revenue from the minimum exchange of visitors and other revenues as a source. Let us have facts speak: From this minimum exchange we will probably get about DM330 million this year; the FRG sends a flat-rate transit fee amounting to DM525 million, and a flat-rate fee for posts and telecommunications amounting to DM200 million.

These are not "donations" and the latter sources are payments for services our country has to render. Transit routes have to be maintained, construction machinery has to be imported, and many more things have to be done. Thus, these means are not available for travel.

We also have to add to such calculations that we have to make payments to the FRG railroads, for instance. Those who go to the FRG pay for their tickets with our marks, but after crossing the national border the expenditures of the FRG railroads that we incur have to be paid for in foreign currency. Furthermore, we are paying for transfer services.

This year about DM40 million will be supplied for private trips to the FRG, and we have to pay DM140 million to the FRG railroads. In addition, there are trips to Austria, Finland, or France, for instance. In these cases the distances are longer, and therefore the expenditure we will have to pay to foreign railroads or airlines will multiply.

ND: Which proposals would be conceivable, nevertheless?

Hoefner: If this idea is not yet considered as final—it would be conceivable to form a foreign currency fund at the State Bank. This fund could be controlled by democratic bodies. This fund would comprise all revenues or expenditures which we have for the above- mentioned reasons. The fund can also be open to transfers by citizens, to transfers from abroad, and also to bigger revenues from tourism. This would make our possibilities to provide foreign currency for travel publicly visible.

ND: Seizing this opportunity, I would like to ask a question which is currently being discussed by many people: More than M50 billion a year are paid from the state budget for subsidies to ensure stable consumer prices for basic consumer goods, rates, and services. What is your standpoint on this?

Hoefner: These issues comprise almost one-fifth of the overall expenditures of the state. The laws on the state budget plan and the budget report of the respective years show how these means are used.

It is obvious that extraordinary efforts are needed to cover these subsidies—and the expenditures of the state budget in general—by corresponding revenues, in particular from the state- owned economy.

In looking at this problem, one certainly has to include another aspect—the performance principle. In assessing the economic situation at the ninth session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, it was critically noted that over the past years the inconsistencies in implementing the performance principle have increased. Today one has to say that the critical voices of the citizens particularly in the dialogue about the connection between subsidies and the performance principle have increased. As finance minister and as paterfamilias, I fully agree with all citizens who are against such subsidies, which promote the waste of economically limited resources or are sources of speculative profits.

Of course, a change can be made only in such a way that the social effect, which is to be achieved through pricing and financial measures, is ensured for families with children, for instance. This also applies to senior citizens who receive pensions, to students, and also to many other citizens. Thus, this is a multifaceted problem which cannot be solved with one stroke of the pen. The solutions and connections have to be weighed thoroughly. This will happen with a broad dialogue and with the inclusion of the many ideas and proposals of the citizens.

I can already say that proposals are being worked out in a responsible way. They will certainly be put up for public discussion soon and will then have to be passed as laws by the People's Chamber. [passage omitted]

Dresden Mayor Berghofer Supports Reforms

PM0911145689 Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer by Henri de Bresson in Dresden—date not given]

[Text] Dresden—[De Bresson] How far is your party prepared to go in recognizing opposition political groups?

[Berghofer] I think that the Central Committee plenum will provide progressive answers which will take account of reality.

[De Bresson] To what extent is that compatible with the leadership role which the communist party claims?

[Berghofer] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] leadership role must be constantly justified. The mere fact of being enshrined in the Constitution is not enough to justify it. I am convinced that my party will firmly resume the initiative in the next few days by

implementing a fundamental and possibly even radical renewal of its own ranks. It will no longer be the same democratic political scene as we had before 7 October. There will be changes which we cannot yet see in detail. As you have seen, the other parties have abandoned their reservations, and have drawn up their own program, like Mr Gerlach's Liberal Democratic Party of Germany.... In short, things are happening which cannot be reversed. My party will have to adapt to them.

[De Bresson] How do you intend to regain people's confidence? Are you not obliged to move very fast?

[Berghofer] Time plays an essential role. At the moment, it is a matter of hours. However, it is impossible, at least for politicians of my generation, to say that we only noticed that something was wrong on 7 October. Since I took office in 1986, I have come into close contact with the problems facing our society. And when I have had the opportunity to do so, I have gone as far possible in explaining the real situation to the municipal council.

A whole series of politicians, not just in the SED, made a very quick about-face, without admitting their share of responsibility, and backed the changes overnight. I see only one conclusion to draw from that: There must be a far-reaching change of leadership cadres in the party and state apparatus at all levels.

[De Bresson] Will there be a new electoral law?

[Berghofer] There will be new legislation, and the judicial commission is working on it. The main element would be to have the choice between several candidates belonging to different parties. There would also be a totally open system of counting votes which could not be suspected of manipulation.

[De Bresson] How far are you prepared to go to change the centralized economy system?

[Berghofer] The formula would be to give the enterprises a greater share of responsibility for production and for their commercial relations with foreign countries, to allow them to earn their own resources and to be self-financing. There must be a system of price fixing based on economic and, at all events, objective criteria. And there must be a new system of wages and output.

[De Bresson] What remains of the planning system?

[Berghofer] Not much. Let us say that it fixes the general rules so that the economy is not chaotic. We must introduce small, innovative, and mobile economic units. We must completely change the policy of subsidies but without calling into question all the social achievements. In practical terms, I think that this means new rent regulations, with prices remaining stable and low below a certain number of square meters. Anything above that number would gradually become more expensive.

[De Bresson] Will the rules of ownership change?

[Berghofer] Craftwork enterprises, individual labor activities, and private businesses will have much greater room to maneuver. For the past year, we have been helping craftwork and individual labor activities, especially in the sphere of repairs and services.

An Attractive Socialism

[De Bresson] The reform processes started in Poland and Hungary have escaped communist party control. Are you afraid of that?

[Berghofer] I would not talk of fear but of concern. The Polish or Hungarian path is not the path for us. When I see the social problems which the workers in Poland now face, this cannot be our objective. The SED will continue to guarantee a social policy. For the majority of the population, and maintaining socialism in the GDR. [sentence as published]

[De Bresson] But you want pluralism.

[Berghofer] I want a plurality of opinions but on the basis of socialism's fundamental values. We must not cast doubt on them. Moreover, this is not what the parties associated in government want. Even in the discussions which I had with the demonstrators' representatives, nobody placed the elimination of socialism on the agenda.

[De Bresson] Will you give the other parties the chance of voting against the SED?

[Berghofer] It will be the best arguments and the best programs which win the day. The GDR exists thanks to the SED. Without the SED, the GDR would not exist in its present form, with its positive aspects and its inconsistencies.... We have many opportunities for implementing democracy. We just have to implement them and create a legislative foundation. We have five parties, and that is not true of the Soviet Union....

[De Bresson] The same was true in Poland. That is how Solidarity came to power.

[Berghofer] We have seen the Polish experiment. We are not obliged to make the same mistakes. We are acquainted with the Hungarian experiment. Perestroyka exists. With the renewal in the GDR, I see the best chances of developing a socialism of the nineties as an alternative to other social systems. Naturally, this involves dangers.

[De Bresson] Will you do this while abandoning the SED's leadership role?

[Berghofer] Yes, it will no longer be a leadership role in the administrative sense, but it will be a vanguard position won through the work accomplished.

[De Bresson] Will the Constitution have to be changed?

[Berghofer] I think that in the renewal process, the Constitution will have to be changed completely.

[De Bresson] Do you have a Swedish socialist model?

[Berghofer] No. One of my party's important tasks will be to develop and introduce such a model. We are now talking about an attractive socialism, without knowing what it is. We do not have a model in any other country about which we can say: "That will be our model." Indeed, one of the reasons for our problems is precisely that there is no model, that we have no vision of society for the end of this century and next century, in other words no valid outlook to offer young people.

[De Bresson] Is there much tension in the SED leadership at present?

[Berghofer] Yes.

[De Bresson] Is the change also a change of generation?

[Berghofer] The generations which fought in Spain and which were in the fascist camps have a different view of life from my generation. The ideals which that generation pursued are now reality and normality for us. We have different needs and objectives. My generation and the younger people are demanding participation in the social processes. They want to have a say.

[De Bresson] How can people be convinced that you will not make do with half-measures?

[Berghofer] This country is a developed country. It has become very politically aware in recent days. Those who took to the streets realized their strength. They have taken responsibilities. They must take care that this power does not become a danger. It is in nobody's interests to deny the widespread dissatisfaction and anxiety about current developments. We realized that we had an opportunity. We will have a better and more secure life if we succeed in reforming this society.

[De Bresson] What do you expect from the FRG in the present situation?

[Berghofer] We expect the other side to show caution, and to recognize our sovereignty so that we can solve our problems ourselves. Any form of interference complicates the situation and ultimately damages all the Europeans. You know the importance of relations between the two German states for the European climate.

Demonstrations in Neubrandenburg, Wismar Reported

AU1311131089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Nov 89 p 7

[ND report: "More Demonstrations"]

[Text] East Berlin—Over 25,000 citizens from Neubrandenburg gathered in Karl Marx Square in the city center on Wednesday evening [8 November]. Representatives from parties, the New Forum, as well as other citizens expressed their views on the changes that are currently taking place in our country. Mayor Heinz Hahn advocated an early meeting of the People's Chamber, a new electoral law, and the recognition of the New Forum.

In Wismar about 50,000 inhabitants demonstrated in front of the town hall on Tuesday evening [7 November]. In Nordhausen 35-40,000 citizens gathered in August Bebel Square, and about 20,000 held a rally in Meiningen.

SED Member on Party's 'Crisis of Credibility'

PM1411090689 Paris LIBERATION in French 9 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee staffer Burkhard Koch by Alexandre Adler—date and place not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: What are the causes of this crisis? Only 2 years ago the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] said that the GDR's relatively favorable economic situation did not make it necessary for it to carry out the "spring- cleaning" which the USSR carried out.

Burkhard Koch: I think that the Politburo's resignation is the result of the crisis of credibility suffered by the party leadership as a result of its own policy which produced the most serious situation that the GDR has experienced since its foundation. The real causes of this crisis are much more political than economic: The SED leadership refused to understand that with Gorbachev's accession to power, a process of restructuring the whole socialist system was under way which concerned it as much as the others and which could not be settled by rhetoric. The Stalinist model of running society had reached its end and the only question which is on the agenda is that of its replacement by a humanist, democratic model of socialism. Since this vital restructuring was refused at the time when it should have been carried out, we are now experiencing the process in an accelerated and dramatic way.

LIBERATION: Valuable time has therefore been wasted; do you think, as Modrow and Mischa Wolf do, that there should have been a change of policy and leadership 3 years ago?

Burkhard Koch: Yes, absolutely. It was when Gorbachev came to power in 1985 that we should have moved in this direction, and the reasons for our delay are connected with the ultra-conservatism characteristic of the Stalinist model which prevented the party leadership and "the grass-roots party itself" from playing its role at that time.

LIBERATION: Do you think that this rigidity on the party's part can be attributed to a generation gap or to more long-standing characteristics, which possibly date back to the party's foundation in 1946?

Burkhard Koch: It must be admitted that not all the historical factors worked against the SED: The party

emerged from the fusion of the socialist and communist parties and it therefore had a tradition of flexibility and openness, I am thinking in particular of the democratic and highly anti-Stalinist culture of German social democracy; the pre-1945 Communist Party of Germany itself was not an ideologically closed party of the Stalinist type, as it was presented in the fifites. Let us not forget the very difficult conditions in which the GDR first developed, living under the constant threat of being dismantled.

LIBERATION: Is there a move toward the legalization of this new form of radical politics: trade unions and opposition parties?

Burkhard Koch: Do not think of independent trade unions like Solidarity, this is not Poland. We are moving more toward a social movement for democracy: The New Forum movement in particular is increasingly playing this role, and its de facto legalization has already taken place. In my view it should be turned fairly rapidly into a party which defends a program of democratization. Official legalization is inevitable.

I think that the contribution of those who think differently is crucial for our society. I also think that the other parties which were united in the democratic bloc, and New Forum which lies outside that bloc, must play a much more independent role as representatives of separate social interests. Overcoming the Stalinist model implies a much higher degree of dialogue between equal partners. The SED had hitherto seen its leadership role essentially in administrative terms. I personally still defend the expression of the "party's leadership role" but it strikes me that in such a diversified society as ours has become, the leadership role boils down to the capacity to formulate the most rational solutions and to be able to discuss them with the other parties to finally reach agreement on a consensus which is acceptable to all in which the SED will undoubtedly also have to make some concessions.

LIBERATION: That leaves the question with which people in France are obsessed: the rapprochement between the two German states....

Burkhard Koch: You know, for us the essential question is that of a radical reorientation of the GDR's internal policy on the bases of socialism. This reorientation should enable us to give our country a much more active role in general cooperation throughout Europe, in Eastern and Western Europe. And inter-German relations can only be viewed in this all-European framework. That is also why we are seeking cooperation not only with the FRG, which is natural, but also with EEC countries like France and Italy.

Minister on Car Production, Improvements

AU1311090189 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles, by Dieter Resch; date and place not given: "Answers on Questions on Private Car Production"; answers supplied in writing]

[Excerpts] BZ: What is the current production of passenger cars (Wartburg, Trabant, and their various models) in the GDR and how many of them are traded via the Industrial Association for Motor Vehicle Construction (IFA)?

Tautenhahn: In 1989, 217,500 private cars were built, 146,000 of them were Trabants and 71,500 were Wartburg 1.3's. (In comparison: In 1970 a total of 126,000 private cars were built, in 1980 about 176,000, and in 1985 about 210,000).

This year 160,000 vehicles will be sold via IFA; 146,000 of them to the population. A total of 57,000 vehicles will be exported to socialist countries within the framework of long-term delivery agreements.

This year more 10,000 Wartburg cars than envisaged in the plan will be sold to the population. [passage omitted]

BZ: How high is the current import of private cars (types and numbers)? Is it to be expected that it will increase in the foreseeable future?

Tautenhahn: In 1989 a total of about 19,000 vehicles will be imported on the basis of long-term delivery agreements, inlcuding 17,000 Ladas, 100 Moskvichs, 1,200 Skodas, and 400 Dacias. In addition 500 Volga cars will be imported, primarily for the State-Owned Taxi Enterprise.

For 1990 all efforts have been aimed at attaining higher exports from the socialist countries. As a result of domestic supply problems, the import partners are currently not willing to increase deliveries compared with 1989.

BZ: Waiting periods from ordering a car to its delivery amount to up to 15 years and more. What possibilities do you see to achieve a clear reduction in this field?

Tautenhahn: Despite the planned gradual increase in production, at present it is not expected that waiting periods will be reduced, given the existing orders for private cars. Shortening the waiting periods can be achieved only through a further increase in the production of private cars. [passage omitted]

The current system of ordering permits every citizen above the age of 18 to order a private car. The application for a car does not constitute any obligation and, therefore, it is made by practically every citizen.

Because of this, the current system of ordering has lost any basis for objective evaluation of the real demand and for controlling supply. On the contrary, this system practically promotes longer waiting periods and is increasingly becoming the subject of political disfcussions among the population. [passage omitted]

Economic Cooperation With Italy Discussed

AU1311082489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Expanded Cooperation With Italian Companies Discussed"]

[Text] Rome (ADN)—On Tuesday [7 November] in Milan Kurt Fenske, state secretary and first GDR deputy minister of foreign trade, and representatives of Italian companies such as Enimont, Fiat, and Tecnimont, of the Industrial Association, and of the Chamber of Trade, Industry, Crafts, and Agriculture discussed measures for the expansion of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the GDR and Italy.

Proceeding from the good development of trade and valuable experiences in industrial cooperation, the partners in the talks saw new starting points in particular in the fields of chemistry, textile machinery and machine tool building, and metallurgy for the further shaping of bilateral relations, which are gaining importance in view of the emerging single EC market.

On the same day the Fifth Technical Days of the GDR in Italy were opened in Milan. Specialists from industrial combines, engineering colleges, scientific institutes, and research institutions will give special lectures in Milan and Florence on numerous topics.

Horn Leaves for 85th Council of Europe Session

LD1411225189 Budapest MTI in English 1852 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Invited by Kjell Magne Bondevik, current chairman of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn left for Strasbourg on Tuesday to attend the committee's 85th session.

Mr Horn is to announce to the foreign ministers' body of 23 nations that Hungary wishes to attain full membership in the organization.

He will also be depositing the documents for joining the Council of Europe conventions on the Conservation of Wildlife and Natural Habitats, Foreign Law and Cultural Cooperation.

Application for Council Membership

LD1511113489 Paris Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Hungary is the first East European country to lodge an official request to join the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Its membership will serve as a springboard for a future association with the European Community. Twenty-three West European states are members of the Council of Europe.

Leaders Congratulate GDR's Krenz on Election

Nyers Sends Telegram

AU1311143689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Nov p 3

[Unattributed report: "Rezso Nyers' Telegram of Congratulations to Egon Krenz"]

[Text] Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] expressed his good wishes in a telegram sent to Egon Krenz, on the occasion of confirmation of the latter's election as general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

Our countries—the telegram says—arrived at a stage of development and restructuring which carries the hope of a promising future, a future in which every citizen of our countries will be able to freely develop his personality to the benefit of the society and to his own benefit, and in the interest of the working people. We are aware of the risks involved in such a restructuring process. However, I am convinced that the SED will find the best way of renewal for the people of the GDR, and by this too, the traditionally good relations between our parties will gain new prospects.

Nemeth Cables Krenz

LD1411224189 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has cabled his good wishes to Hans Modrow on his election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic.

Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the National Assembly, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Guenther Maleuda, newly-elected president of the People's Chamber of the GDR.

'Joint Communique' on Quadrilateral Meeting

AU1511094989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Nov 89 p 3

["Joint Communique"]

[Text] Gyula Horn, foreign minister of the Hungarian Republic; SFRY Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar; Gianni De Michelis, foreign minister of the Italian Republic; and Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock held a meeting in Budapest on 11 November 1989. In the course of their talks, they expressed the readiness of their governments to strengthen the good-neighborly relations between their countries and to develop their multilateral cooperation.

By developing the quadrilateral cooperation in this part of Europe, they want to contribute in a new way to further improving the European atmosphere and to strengthening the CSCE process.

By expanding their cooperation, and with their constructive initiatives, they want to promote the process leading to a greater unity of Europe and to strengthen their common responsibility for the future of Europe.

Relying on the already achieved high-level of good-neighborly and friendly relations and on the bridging role played by the national minorities, and considering the cultural and historical traditions of the four countries, the participants wish to encourage quadrilateral cooperation in various areas of social and economic life.

The four governments attribute great importance to the economic and technical-scientific relations in the areas of energy, industry, environmental protection, transportation, tourism, culture, education, and information, and to cooperation in other areas of common interest. The participants also stressed the importance of border-area cooperation.

The four foreign ministers agreed that, in the development of quadrilateral cooperation, in addition to the governments, they should also encourage the active role of public factors and organizations as well as individuals. The foreign ministers think that the task of their governments is to guarantee a good political atmosphere and firm frameworks for a wide range of cooperation.

Beginning with 1990, they will advance their cooperation with annual high-level political meetings. Working groups dealing with specific subjects will prepare these meetings.

The comprehensive positive changes under way in Europe and in the entire international relations, and the further development of democarcy and human rights are also creating favorable conditions for these countries willing to strengthen these positive processes with their activity to deepen their cooperation.

It is the firm intention of the four governments to strengthen the Helsinki process, and to further develop the results already achieved. Therefore, the participants wish to encourage pan-European cooperation and will promote the activity of relevant forums. By deepening their contacts, the four countries also wish to contribute to the success of various forms of regional cooperation, like the Alps-Adria Working Partnership.

Led by the new spirit prevailing in Europe and inspired by the proximity of their views, the four sides think that subregional, regional, and interregional cooperation could considerably contribute to a gradual emergence of a common economic area in Europe.

The four governments are laying the foundations of their new type of cooperation with the intention of further improving the conditions in Europe.

They will inform the countries with which they are in close cooperation on the international level about the importance and results of their cooperation.

Nyers Interviewed on Talks in Stockholm

AU1311152589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with HSP Chairman Rezso Nyers, by Istvan Zalai: "We Can Use A Lot From the Swedish Model—Rezso Nyers Interviewed by NEPSZABADSAG"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Zalai] Just a few days after returning from your trip to Denmark, you have now held talks with political leaders and business representatives in Sweden. What is the opinion of your negotiating partners about the changes in Hungary?

[Nyers] I would begin with the social sphere. I met with public life representatives in the Foreign Policy Institute. These people represent different interests and professions, but all of them were interested in politics. In my view, they were well informed. The mentioning of names, concrete events, and intentions prove a better knowledge of Hungary there than what I experienced in my previous meetings in Western Europe. These people dealt with extremely varied questions, like the differences among various socialist countries concerning the reforms, the national minority issues that divide many countries, the relations between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the dangers inherent in the lack of coordination between the Hungarian political and economic reforms, and the current efforts of the leaders of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] to organize a party.

We have held a thorough exchange of views with outstanding business representatives about the contacts of large Swedish firms with Hungary. These people displayed a clear interest in the new opportunities provided by the economic reform. They dealt with issues like the extent to which we allow foreign capital in our ventures, the possible guarantees for the free use of investments, and the type of possible cooperation on the CEMA market, particularly in the Soviet Union.

I have had several meetings with the representatives of the Swedish political circles too. I would first mention the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, first of all Party Chairman and Premier Carlsson with whom we held a thorough exchange of views on three major issues. First, the policy and political features of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]; second, our party's European policy and its relations with the Swedish social democratic movement and the Socialist International; and third, the building of economic contacts with the EFTA countries, including Sweden, the future of European free trade zone, and the future development of EFTA-EEC relations.

I experienced a notable understanding on the part of the Swedish premier and party chairman towards Hungary and the HSP, as well as an obligatory caution and circumspection deriving from his position as premier. He highly appreciates the Hungarian-Swedish cooperation and is preparing to have a closer view of the Hungarian conditions and contacts, as well as the possibilities of developing these contacts during his visit due next spring.

[Zalai] You were invited by the Swedish Social Democratic Party which previously also had steady contacts with the MSZMP. Has anything changed now with the establishment of the HSP? What relations do you expect in the future?

[Nyers] The Swedish party finds it natural to continue its relations developed with the MSZMP also with the HSP, and they do not even think of questioning this continuity. The relations so far have been good, and now we move ahead because, just like us, they also consider it necessary to deepen our cooperation.

[Zalai] Prior to your arrival, you said to a Swedish newspaper that the HSP hopes for the support of Swedish social democrats in its quest for membership in the Socialist International. At the same time, according to previous information, the Swedish party shows a certain amount of caution in this issue. What did you feel during the talks? Will the opinion of the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party which opposes the acceptance of the HSP in the Socialist International influence the Swedish position?

[Nyers] I have not experienced any kind of opposition on the part of the Swedish social democrats in connection with the HSP. They see a principled possibility for having two Hungarian parties members of the Socialist International, similarly to other countries. They expressed sympathy towards the HSP, and the invitation itself proves this. They in no way oppose our membership in the Socialist International, they only talk with restraint about this issue, signaling by this that the acceptance of the intention to become a member depends on many parties. In reality, this can take place at the congress due in 2 years' time. Until then, they stressed the importance of building relations with our party. They referred to Willy Brandt's statement in Milano according to which the Socialist International is very much interested in the reform processes under way in Eastern Europe. I have experienced the same here. As for the position of the domestic social democrats, at present it is difficult to differentiate between statements that qualify as official party position, and statements that should be considered as personal opinions.

[Zalai] At the Foreign Policy Institute in Stockholm, you said that the HSP is focusing on social democratic values, and at the same time, it wants to preserve and cherish its contacts with the the other trend of the left-wing workers movement too, first of all with the reform-communist parties. You met with Lars Werner, chairman of the Left-Wing Party-Communists. What experiences have you gained from these meetings?

[Nyers] They are receiving the Hungarian changes very positively. They clearly regard the breaking with Stalinism as necessary and correct, and they also believe in the principle of democratic socialism and are striving for close relations with the HSP. For our part, we will consider this natural in the future too. Besides, this party is one of the pioneers of anti-Stalinism in Europe.

[Zalai] In the course of this visit, you have had the opportunity to learn about the social policy and economic practice of the Swedish social democrats. What do you think can be used from the Swedish model under Hungarian conditions?

[Nyers] I find many things in the Swedish model that can be used. In the political system here, it is a requirement of recognized importance that the government should exercise a genuine influence on the economic conditions, the distribution of income, and easing the social inequalities, in the interest of the majority of society. All this, by simultaneously asserting economic efficiency and the entrepreneurial readiness. The highly-developed system of Swedish social security and social policy, including of course the fact that these are based on secure financial foundations, is instructive for us. One should also notice their taxation policy which is simultaneously encouraging ventures and balancing social inequalities. I had the opportunity to obtain information about the relations between the various parties and the Parliament. The parties receive genuine support from the state budget, separately for promoting the parliamentary activity, for running the party, and for press propaganda. The parliamentary faction is playing a very important role in the party life, and the same is true of the local bodies that represent interests. The lasting political alliance between the social democrats and the trade unions, an alliance based on the principle of independence of the two movements with very close political contacts is an extremely important element of the Swedish political model.

[Zalai] While you were negotiating in Denmark and Sweden, countries known for their social peace, daily important domestic policy developments followed each other at home, including the recent news that, among others, Karoly Grosz was also present at the anniversary rally of 7 November organized by the MSZMP and spoke about his organizational activity within the MSZMP which, according to him, is alive and functioning. The speech also dealt with the preparation of the 14th MSZMP congress. What is your opinion about this?

[Nyers] The latest congress in October had no number. If Karoly Grosz and his followers are working on reorganizing the MSZMP, they can naturally do so. They have to function according to the Constitution and have to register in accordance with the law on political parties. In my opinion, it is problematic for them to come up as the simple followers of the MSZMP because, in reality, there are two different trends there. The majority at the MSZMP Congress voted for the transformation of the party into the HSP, and the congress decision called the HSP as the legal successor of the former MSZMP. What we are talking here about practically is the effort of the minority to continue the MSZMP, and, in my opinion, it is tactful to express this somehow. We are also heirs of the MSZMP, however, we do not simply continue its policy, but are thoroughly reforming it.

Prime Minister Nemeth Speaks on Economy, IMF

LD1011142889 Budapest MTI in English 1331 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 10, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth believes Hungary's own efforts are not sufficient to create the right conditions to bring it out of the current economic crisis: The country definitely needs the help of the international community. The prime minister was speaking at a Budapest meeting of county council chairmen apropos of the fact that Hungary and the IMF are to resume talks next week on a new stand-by credit agreement.

However, such assistance will only come if the government too does everything in its power to promote the peaceful democratization of the country, he said.

This realization has prompted the government to sit down to talks with the opposition parties. These talks should decide whether national round-table discussions

are to be called on economic matters, and when the general elections are to be held.

The prime minister believes Parliament should also be consulted in the matter of the economic coordination talks, something that was not seen as necessary in the case of the political coordination talks held earlier this year.

If it comes to such economic coordination talks, the participants will have to consider such external conditions as the outcome of the talks with the IMF as well. The government would like to conclude a three-year agreement with the IMF, and expects to shape its economic policy in the light of the outcome of the talks.

On May 15 this year, the IMF suspended disbursement of the 5th and final tranche (SDR 50 million) of a previous sdr 265 million (USD 350 million) one-year stand-by credit on the grounds that Hungary's economic performance did not tally with plans.

HSP Officials on Presidential Elections

LD1011222389 Budapest MTI in English 2047 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—Preparing for the forthcoming referendum, the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) has reconfirmed its position that the president of the Republic of Hungary should be elected directly by the people, yet before the general elections. As far as the other questions put to the referendum are concerned, the HSP backs the decision of Parliament, Pal Vastagh, Ferenc Kosa and Laszlo Lakos, members of the Presidium, and Andras Toth, head of the National Office, told an international news conference after the Friday session of the Presidium.

Although most of the HSP members received the call for the referendum critically, the HSP Presidium does not encourage them to boycott the vote, Mr Vastagh said.

Mr Kosa said that the Presidium adopted a principled standpoint on the issues of public information and the central media (Hungarian radio, Hungarian television, MTI) and would work out concrete proposals next Wednesday. The Presidium holds it desirable to strengthen the autonomy of the central media and place it under social control, preventing its monopolization by any party.

Mr Toth said that on November 3 the HSP Presidium had received a letter in which the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] organization led by Robert Ribanszky called upon the HSP to launch talks with them on what they called 'unsettled financial matters'. Ribanszky and his associates argued that, as a legal successor to the HSWP, they were entitled to a part of the party assets. The HSP Presidium, however, decided that it would not launch talks on the topic with any party. In keeping with the government's decision, the HSP will return to the state the right to handle all assets that are not required for its operation.

Mr Toth said that the HSWP organization had the right to claim assets for its operation from the state. This claim, however, should be announced for the government commissioner.

In reply to questions, the HSP politicians said that the party has 30,000-35,000 members. Exact figures will only be available after the network of basic organizations has been established. The initial period of 'stabilization' has come to an end, and the membership shows a slow, steady increase.

The HSP Presidium warmly welcomed the news arriving from the GDR. On this score, Mr Kosa said that over the past months the Hungarian reformers had worried about the 'insensitiveness' of the East German leaders. Now, seeing the stormy process of democratization, the HSP Presidium holds that all what is taking place in Eastern Europe forms part of a comprehensive reform process. The Presidium hopes that the latest developments will guarantee the democratic transformation of the East European region as a whole. Mr Kosa added that the HSP Presidium would establish links with the reform-minded politicians of the GDR as soon as possible.

Pozsgay Urges Government Control of Media

LD1011040489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] According to Imre Pozsgay, during the transitional period leading up to the elections, the government and the assigned supervising committee should control the means of mass communication of great influence, first and foremost the television and the radio.

The minister of state spoke at the extraordinary general assembly of the association of local televisions. He said that the current argument is whether the supervising committee should be organized by the government from the representatives of the parties and social organizations or whether the body should be independent and consist of independent experts. Imre Pozsgay also said that the press law adopted 3 years ago is outdated today, there is an urgent need for a new law on information. This will probably will be adopted by the present National Assembly. However, it can not be put on the agenda at the December session.

Further Reportage on Kohl Visit, Departure

Kohl Pays Homage at Auschwitz

LD1411210289 Warsaw PAP in English 1122 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 14—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, now on an official visit to Poland, visited the site of the former Nazi death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau today to pay homage to millions of victims of Nazi terror.

Joint Statement Issued

LD1411140189 Hamburg DPA in German 1337 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki ceremoniously signed in Warsaw today a joint statement. It affirms the two countries' desire for closer political, economic, and cultural cooperation.

In 78 individual chapters specific initiatives in these spheres and for the protection of the German minority in Poland are agreed upon. The 1970 Warsaw Treaty is affirmed as the continuing basis of relations between the two countries. Bonn and Warsaw agreed in this treaty to the inviolability of borders. The document also states that Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker will pay a state visit to Poland, and that Mazowiecki is to visit the Federal Republic next year.

Further on Joint Statement

LD1411100689 Hamburg DPA in German 0806 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The joint statement signed by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw today reiterates the FRG's guarantee of the Oder-Neisse border, grants Germans in Poland minority rights, and contains a package of economic aid measures for Poland.

Respect for the Oder-Neisse border by the Federal Republic is mentioned in two places. The two sides commit themselves to fulfill the 1970 Warsaw Treaty in the future "according to the letter and spirit." In this treaty Bonn and Warsaw affirm the "inviolability of their existing borders now and in the future" and promised not to make territorial claims against each other.

In addition, the two sides accept in the statement the "objective of a Europe of peace and cooperation—a European peace order, or common European home." In this "the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their present borders" are "a fundamental condition for peace." The two sides respect the principles of international law, in particular the renunciation of force, respect for human rights, and the people's right to self-determination.

The term "minority" is not expressly mentioned in the statement; however, the Germans in Poland will virtually gain minority rights. "The two sides will enable individuals or population groups who are of German or Polish origin, or who accept the language, culture, or tradition of the other side, to preserve and develop their cultural identity." Everywhere in Poland, German is to be offered as a foreign language in schools, and the Federal Government will help train teachers and provide teaching material.

Publications in either language may be freely imported and distributed, and associations for the cultivation of language, culture and tradition may be founded. These associations can maintain contacts with the other country and set up public libraries. It was also agreed that the cultural institutes can set up branches. This virtually means that, for instance, branches of the Goethe Institute can be opened in Upper Silesia. The two sides will permit memorials to be erected and the war graves to be maintained.

To make things easier for resettlers it was agreed that the two sides will arrange the "applications for the acquisition of and release from one another's citizenship, in the interest of those concerned, without delay and at reasonable cost." Furthermore, travel and tourism are to be facilitated, especially for the young and old-age pensioners.

In the economic sphere the Federal Republic commits itself to support Polish efforts to gain credits from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Also, Bonn is to support the generous rescheduling in the Paris Club and grant above all Hermes guarantees [export credit guarantees] "for jointly selected projects and export deals with Poland."

The oustanding debts from the gigantic ("Jumbo") credit of 1975 will be waived, and the remaining debt will be paid in zlotys when due. These funds are to be used to promote youth exchanges, environmental protection and infrastructure, the training of business exports, cultural institutes, the promotion of the German language, and the maintenance of cultural monuments and charity institutions.

Kohl Departs Warsaw Airport

LD1411195389 Warsaw PAP in English 1923 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl wound up his visit to Poland on Tuesday night. He was seen off at Warsaw's Okecie Airport by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Rakowski Meeting Rejected

LD1411204489 Warsaw PAP in English 1931 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Spokesman for the Polish United Workers' Party PUWP Jan Bisztyga said in a

written statement on Tuesday that a planned meeting between visiting West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and PUWP leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski had not taken place in view of the guest's demand that Rakowski should pay a visit to his Warsaw residence.

"This demand met with a negative response for it ran counter to binding internationnal norms," Bisztyga said.

"The PUWP CC [Central Committee] first secretary pays visits to heads of state. Meetings with prime ministers and other politicians take place in the PUWP CC headquarters (...) Chancellor Helmut Kohl firmly refused to do so," he elaborated.

A proposal to seek another solution which would make such a meeting possible was also rejected, Bisztyga said.

'Reconciliation' Mass Hailed

AU1511115989 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 2

["cze"-signed commentary: "More Than a Symbol"]

[Text] It is not true that gestures do not mean much. If they did not mean much, would we have been so on edge as we waited for what was to happen in Krzyzowa on Sunday [12 November] morning? When the priest said "let us offer each other the sign of peace," the camera turned toward the two heads of government. The embrace between the chancellor and the premier was a symbolic gesture of reconciliation between the representatives of two peoples that have been at odds with each other for decades that set the seal on the efforts that politicians had made for many years.

It was the culmination of a certain period in our common—Polish-West German—history that began when Chancellor Brandt knelt before the Ghetto monument in December 1970.

It is a pity that it did not happen on 1 September, but it is a good thing that it nevertheless occurred in the year that sees the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and that it took place in Krzyzowa, which has gone down in history as a place where members of the German anti-fascist resistance movement met, as well as before the eyes of a group made up of two peoples: Poles and Germans living in Poland.

Afterwards, Chancellor Kohl said: "We sensed history." The gesture was moving and the words were great. However, after a period of 24 years, we—both we on the banks of the Vistula and they on the banks of Rhine—are surely able to understand the wisdom of what was said by Cardinal Wyszynski: "We forgive and we ask for forgiveness."

This was not only borne out by the long embrace before the altar in Krzyzowa. After all, the Polish-German mass was only possible thanks to joint, difficult compromises, but comprises that are, as we can see, attainable. The gestures and words are bolstered by facts. So far, nine agreements have been signed giving concrete form to the development of contacts, and these agreements will shortly be supplemented by further ones.

It is obvious that for the time being these are also only words, but words that are written down in black and white. However, thanks to the fact that, among other things, the gesture of reconciliation at Krzyzowa—a gesture that seen by millions of people in Poland and in the FRG—was also seen by all of Europe, which is keenly interested in the development of Polish-German relations, reconciliation will cease to be only a slogan and will become, as we want to believe, European reality.

Solidarity's Geremek on Border, German Unity

LD0811165189 Warsaw PAP in English 1516 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8—In an interview carried by today's SZTANDAR MLODYCH youth daily leader of Solidarity Parliamentary Group OKP Professor Bronislaw Geremek said he regretted the FRG chancellor's visit did not take place earlier and mentioned the issue of Poland's western border as a major obstacle for closer contacts of Poland with FRG.

Excerpts:

Q: FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl will visit our country tomorrow, on November 9. What hopes do you associate with the visit?

A: Chancellor Kohl's visit is becoming a fact after a long-time waiting and very slow and difficult negotiations between the Polish and FRG Governments. These negotiations concerned the political relations between the Governments of Poland and the Federal Republic, as well as the economic relations.

It is a pity that the visit did not take place earlier, on the 50th anniversary of World War 2's outbreak by which a historical and symbolic occasion was lost. Together with the tragical reminiscences we might have closed a certain chapter in the Polish-German relations. It was in the interest of both countries, but it did not happen.

One of the main obstacles to the Polish-FRG contacts is the question of our western border. Every voice resounding in the Federal Republic and questioning the unequivocally final character of this border does a bad service to the Polish-German relations and to Europe.

Unfortunately, such voices have been heard again in the recent months. I hope the Polish visit of Chancellor Kohl will be an opportunity to give an unequivocal definition to the FRG authorities' position and to stress that nobody questions the durability of borders. This would create an atmosphere in which it would be clear to Polish people that on the German side there are no elements of threat to the Polish national interest and state.

I think that the question of German minority in Poland will not be used by the FRG as part of political game at the present moment, but will be treated in a realistic way.

I said before and I repeat that the Germans have the right to decide their fates. If, then, the process of rapprochement between both German states develops as Europe expects it, that is, there is no threat to any of Germany's neighbours, (rapprochement) will not be against anybody's interests or the Polish reason of state.

This is certainly a long political process...how long, we do not know. It depends on the processes taking place in both German states, on the stance of the four powers, and on what Europe wants. By this I reject the political philosophy that has led to the conviction that the unification of Germany will be against Poland and against her interests.

I believe that the official propaganda permanently threatening with the German danger was harmful to Poland. I think, that this historical reminiscence of 19th century experience—the Treaty of Rapallo and the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact—compel a reflection that the future of Europe depends on whether it is built on a just order in which the rights of individuals, groups, and nations are respected, Geremek told the paper.

Solidarity Daily on Western Border

LD0711122189 Warsaw PAP in English 0842 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 7—To build the future of Europe, going beyond the provincial perspective, local conflicts of interests and nationalist prejudices, one must stick to elementary principles. In order to make border between European states link nations rather than divide them nobody should question their geographical location. It is also necessary not to allow anyone to limit anyone else's national rights, regardless of whether this concerns nations forming a majority in a sovereign state or representatives of national minorities, the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarnosc daily wrote today.

In view of changes taking place in the GDR and agreements that are to be signed by the FRG chancellor in Warsaw we are coming closer to an essential, we hope, breakthrough in relations between Poles and Germans. It is necessary, therefore, to recall these fundamental matters:

Because of our past and the future of Europe our nations have the right to democratically and sovereignly determine their own fate and the rights of national minorities stem from universally recognized human rights and principles of democracy. The border on the Odra and Nysa rivers remains to be in the future an inviolable and undisputable Western border of Poland, GAZETA WYBORCZA stressed.

Government Stance on GDR-FRG Border Situation

AU1511111989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Polish Government Stance"]

[Text] Asked at a news conference to present the Polish Government's stance concerning the opening of the border between the GDR and FRG, government spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said that this is a domestic matter of both these states. As a signatory of the 1966 international pact on civic and political rights, Poland is very pleased that yet another country is going to observe the convention that guarantees freedom of travel for citizens.

The question of Germany's unification was one of the topics discussed by Foreign Ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said the spokesman in reply to a question. The Polish Government, she said, recognizes every nation's right to self-determination, including Germany's. Several conditions have to be fulfilled for this unification to occur. The citizens of both German states, treated on an equal basis, of course, must express their consent to it. After that, the Four Powers, who are still empowered to make joint decisions on the subject of Germany as a whole, must express their consent. The question of German unification should also be considered in a European context. There must be guarantees that a new united Germany, as a powerful country, would not endanger European security and cooperation.

One should not confuse the two issues of unification and Poland's borders, the spokesman added. The two German states may only unite within their present borders. There is no question of any other solution.

GDR-FRG Border Relaxation Examined

AU1511113689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "Hopes and Questions"]

[Text] Events in the GDR concerning relationships between the two German states are happening unusually fast. It is too early to predict the consequences, but for the time being one can say that no one wants drastic changes that could upset the situation in the center of Europe and, what is more, on the whole continent.

Nevertheless, the changes have already begun. The GDR has embarked upon the path of fundamental domestic changes, and has set in motion mechanisms that can provide new substance to relations between the GDR and FRG.

The first issue will be decided by the population of the two neighboring states. One can only hope that the

changes that have started will well serve the Germans east of the Elbe River, as well as comprehensive cooperation with Poland.

Relations between the two German states are a problem that is being dealt with by these countries themselves. Nevertheless, not just the major powers, but practically every single European country has its say on this issue. This is because the division of Germany was the result of World War II, and because the postwar status quo has become the basis of the entire structure of Europe.

In such a situation, one can ask certain questions about the future of what is happening on German soil on both sides of the Elbe. Does the process that has started not threaten a change in the balance of forces to the advantage of one of the two military blocs that still exist? The consequences of a collapse of this balance could be varied, and might contain the seeds of many dangers.

Furthermore, will the future shape of inter-German relations consolidate the realistic stance expressed in Poland's treaty with the GDR (signed in Zgorzelec) and with the FRG (signed in Warsaw), or will it provide room for action by the forces that have so strongly extolled border revisionism prior to Chancellor Kohl's visit to our country? Will FRG-GDR relations not have a negative bearing on Poland's cooperation, chiefly economic cooperation, with both German states?

Eliminating the Berlin Wall—after all, it no longer exists, even though it is still physically present—means the elimination of a relic of the cold war and of our continent's bloc division. The wall has burst under pressure from reformist trends and from desires for renewal expressed by the GDR population, even by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. But it was also brought about by the changes in European relations, chiefly between East and West, and by the transformations taking place in most countries of central and eastern Europe.

Therefore, one can nurture hopes that the reasons that have caused the elimination of the Berlin Wall will strengthen these positive trends, make our continent safer, and create better prerequisites for peaceful coopeeration.

Soviet October Anniversary Marked, Messages Sent

Anniversary Concert Held

AU0911184189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 1989 pp 1, 2

[Report signed 'rh': "Ceremonial Concert at the National Philharmonia"]

[Text] The concert hall of the National Philharmonia was the setting for the ceremonial concert given on 6 November—the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—to celebrate the 72nd anniversary of that historical event. Distinguished representatives of Polish political, economic, scientific, and cultural life were the guests of the Ministry of Culture and Arts, and Warsaw's National Philharmonic Orchestra.

Among those present were, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Jerzy Jozwiak, Sejm deputies, senators, party leaders, and members of the government.

Vladimir Brovikov, USSR ambassador to Poland was also present.

Speeches by Krzysztof Skubiszewski, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, and Vladimir Brovikov, USSR ambassador were included in the concert program.

Here are excerpts of Minister Skubiszewski's speech:

—Relations with the Soviet Union play a key role for Poland. We support their continued development and we shall observe the treaties that bind us. We profess mutual respect for national interests and the differences our partners may have, as well as the inalienable right of each nation to pursue its own road of development.

—There are many strong links that bind our country with our powerful neighbor in the East. These are political and economic links. Cooperation in international affairs—most important and vital to peace—constitutes a very important pillar of Polish foreign policy.

—The nurturing of joint values accords well with the Polish raison d'etat, in whose interests lies the maintenance of a lively and mutually advantageous cooperation with all its neighbors. This also accords well with society's aspirations and the vision of a new Europe and world, which are now passing from confrontation to dialogue, overcoming their divisions, and developing international cooperation based on equality under the law, for all nations.

—We are the joint creators of the democratic transformations.

We realize what importance perestroyka in the Soviet Union has for the shaping of a new model of coexistence of nations that are imbued with new political thinking, the spirit of friendly partnership, and respect for human rights.

Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov stressed the following points:

—The achievements secured as a result of the Soviet revolution, despite the difficult and even tragic moments in the past, testify to the correctness of the socialist road for the Soviet peoples. Despite the heavy burden of the mistakes and deviations committed

along this road, the noble values of the Great October have are being realized today in perestroyka. They still live and continue.

—Guided by the ideas of the Great October, the USSR shapes its relations with its allies, friends, and with all countries on the lasting foundations of equal rights, noninterference in internal matters, mutual respect and mutual gains. These are our guiding principles.

—Vitally important interests link USSR and Poland together. Our two countries have close, historically shaped, geographically reinforced links in all key spheres. We attach enormous importance to the continued and multifaceted development of relations with Poland—partner-like activity on the international arena, in the Warsaw Pact, and CEMA. This is one of the elements of peace and stability in Europe that Mikhail Gorbachev stressed recently in his meeting with the PZPR leadership.

The program of the ceremonial concert symbolized the close ties that link Polish and Soviet music, and their ties with the world's classical tradition. The National Philharmonic Orchestra, under the leadership of Kazimierz Korda, performed Szymanowski's "Nocturne and Tarantella" and Shostakovich's "Sixth Symphony," and Karol Radziwinowicz was the soloist in Ludwig van Beethoven's "Third Piano Concerto."

Rakowski Message to Gorbachev

AU0911164289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 89 p 1

[Greetings message from Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the 72d Anniversary of the October Revolution: "We Are Determined To Deepen Our Friendship"]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in Moscow.

On the 72d Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR], the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] sends warmest greetings and best wishes to the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and all Communists and working people of the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

The ideas that led to the victory of the GOSR and the opening of a new period in the history of humanity are today experiencing their renaissance. The ideals and values of socialism are gaining a human and democratic face—they reflect the interests and aims of the working people.

The course of revolutionary perestroyka adopted by the CPSU is creating new horizons for the successful cooperation between the states and parties of our community, between all the forces of the left in the world, and is playing a decisive role in strengthening peace and solving the problems that have plagued humanity.

The course that has been adopted by the CPSU is in full harmony with the shaping of democratic socialism by the PZPR, which is currently preparing for its 11th congress. We are jointly seeking new and ever better ways of cooperation which will reflect the aspirations and needs of our two countries and peoples who are bound in friendship.

We declare our unchanging determination to deepen the friendship and the alliance between our two countries, based on cooperation between partners and an exchange of experiences.

On the anniversary of the Great October, we wish you Dear Comrade Gorbachev, all members of the CPSU, the working peoples of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, continued perseverance and successes in the realization of revolutionary perestroyka of the sociopolitical and economic relations in your country, further successes in the realization of the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace, and in the struggle for peace and social order throughout the world.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Messages

AU0911164889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Messages From the President and the Premier"]

[Text] In connection with the National Day of the Soviet Union—the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a message of congratulations to Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR, and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a message of congratulations to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The messages emphasize that Poland and the Soviet Union are linked by close political, economic, and cultural cooperation, as well as by joint action in the international arena which aims at the strengthening of peace in Europe and the world.

The constructive policies of the USSR, its constant desire to restructure international relations and to base them on mutual cooperation and trust, were highly praised. The convergence of the processes taking place in the USSR and in Poland, are creating better circumstances for the development of truly partner-like relations between Poland and the USSR, for increased mutual contacts between their respective peoples, and are assuming a more human character.

Best wishes for the success of perestroyka were conveyed to the Soviet peoples, who were also assured of the Polish nation's real support for this process.

Repatriation of Poles From USSR Viewed

LD0611133689 Warsaw PAP in English 1231 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 6: "The situation of our compatriots residing in the USSR is the most urgent issue in Poland's policy towards Poles living abroad," said chairman of the Senate Committee for Emigration and Poles Abroad, Senator Ryszard Reiff in an interview for the "RZECZPOSPOLITA" government daily today.

"There are Poles living there," the senator continued, "who do not consider themselves as Polonia as they simply live at the land of their fathers as well as Poles who were brought to the Soviet state against their will, who were deported there by force. The time has come for efficient and final repatriation of Poles living in the USSR.

"The repatriation is a very urgent issue," Ryszard Reiff elaborated. "The question of information is connected with that. We are in contact with Poles living near the Polish-Soviet border. But the issue looks worse as regards contacts with Poles residing behind the Urals, in Kazakhstan or even farther east.

"We are unable to estimate the definite number of Poles living there. It ranges between 100 and 250 thousand people. A mission at the consular level or some kind of representation should be established, I think, to carry out a census of the people, to organize departures, etc.

"It is an issue to be negotiated at the governmental level, "Senator Reiff stated.

"The issue of double citizenship, so far firmly opposed by the Soviet Union, should be negotiated at the similar level," Ryszard Reiff opined. "Poles will not manage (to settle issues) by themselves in Soviet local offices. "Besides repatriation it is the key issue to organize free flow of Poles from the Soviet Union to Poland and vice versa," the Senate committee chairman stated.

Independence Day Celebrated, Heroes Honored

Leaders Pay Tribute

LD1111185789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Today is Independence Day, the 71st anniversary of Poland regaining an independent existence. We are celebrating this anniversary in a celebratory manner throughout Poland and everywhere Poles live.

A moment ago a ceremonial change of the honorary guard at the tomb of the unknown soldier ended in Warsaw. Tribute was paid to the heroes of the struggles for independence. On the tablet of the grave where a hero of the battles for Poland lies, whose name is not known and who died in the defense of Lvov in 1918, wreaths were placed.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeuz Mazowiecki, Andrzej Stelmachowski, the Senate speaker, members of the Sejm Presidium, ministers, and the capital's hosts took part in the ceremony. [passage omitted]

Anniversary celebrations are also taking place in other parts of Poland, such as in Krakow and Przemysl.

Mazowiecki Anniversary Speech

AU1511115089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of Poland's independence in Warsaw on 11 November]

[Text] On this November evening, when our thoughts—more than on any other day —turn to common causes, to the matters that concern our homeland, I wish to turn to all Poles, I wish to share a thought about the that day—11 November 1918—and about the present, about matters that concern us today.

Seventy-one years ago, Poland—crossed off the political map of Europe for 120 years—rose again to national life. Seventy-one years ago, Poland once again began to live in independence, in freedom, as a common property of all Poles. This came about as a result of armed activity but also as a result of the work of the generations, work for independence, national work, work of self-education and character-building, the activities of many political trends and many battles.

What was so unusual about that time, 71 years ago, was that the Poles united in the building of a new state, in the building of Poland's statehood. And this state, though weak in many points, in many matters, and insufficiently satisfying needs, this state set a certain norm, it was our own state—that is why it was so dear, because it was regained after many years and was fully ours—that was how it was seen.

Today, after these 71 years, for the first time in 50 years we are celebrating this anniversary as a national day. This day had never ceased to be dear to Poles, it had never ceased to be a national day. Today it is, once again, also a state holiday. But as we bow our heads before this generation, before those people, before the leaders, before all those who at that time made it possible for Poland to regain its independence, for the country to be rebuilt—we are not only returning to symbols, we do not only give honor to them, but we also have a duty to reflect upon our life today, for we wish to serve the same values today as those which then marked the regaining of our independence, which made this independence so dear to Poles.

We stand at the threshold of great changes in our country. We stand at the threshold of great changes

which are sweeping the whole of Europe, or at least that part of Europe in which we live. We stand at the threshold of very difficult changes which we must live through and triumph over in order to cope with the same tasks and the same values which, 71 years ago, pointed out the path Poland was to take.

Our task is the restructuring of the state, and we have undertaken this restructuring of the state. And we have undertaken this reconstruction of the state, from the Parliament, from the elections, from the creation of both chambers of Parliament, through the creation of the government that I head. And tomorrow it will be exactly 2 months since this government was appointed. This time has been short, but it has been crucial. We have striven and we will continue to strive for this time not to be wasted. In all areas of state life, and in the reconstruction of the life of the state, we have pushed matters forward. There is no area in which changes have not begun. They are underway in all areas. They should follow ever more quickly and ever more decisively, and take place not only at the top but so that every citizen should feel them. But collective will is also necessary for this, as is the collective activity of society. The collective action of citizens is necessary.

Clearly, the most difficult area of which we have spoken and of which we speak is the economic situation. Poland's debt is enormous and lies as an enormous burden on our economy. In these difficult conditions, we have undertaken a decisive program for the reconstruction of the country's economy, a reconstruction toward a normal market economy. We had a choice: we either do this over a very long period of time, without visible results for a long period of time, or we decide to reduce this period as much as possible. It seems to me that our society well understands the fact that the system we have had until now has outlived itself, that it is necessary to thoroughly change our economy.

We all understand this. But in a situation when we have to change it, when difficulties are mounting up, when this change hurts, I know that this can be evaluated in various ways, that moods can be various. I know very well how difficult it is for society, how difficult it is for us to live. I know very well, but I would also like it to be known that this burden lies as a huge and heavy stone on the decisions that the government must make. Every day we must weigh the decisions that we make, weigh on the scales our determination to make changes, to go for them in a decisive fashion, and that feeling of burden and inadequacy that relates to every Polish family.

I also want it to be clear that the road to normality is a government that ceases to regulate everything, that ceases to decide everything, and to interfere in everything. This government is also determined to shield the weakest, to intervene in all dangerous situations that could in excessive degree threaten the weakest. And a state that does not interfere in everything is a state that will not leave the weak to themselves. We have to overcome this fear.

The situation before us is hard and difficult, but we must pass through it, as there is no other way. We could take a step backwards in order to later set off again from a worse starting point. We must pass through this difficult period with determination. But at the same time, Poland is again a country in which everything really depends upon ourselves, in which we can take responsibility into our own hands, a country in which we must bring about a situation in which it is really worthwhile working. and so that a man can be able to feed his family, to live with dignity, and finally attain some sort of living conditions that he deserves. Poland is a country of initiative, that is waiting for young people, for enterprising people.

These possibilities exist, these possibilities are opening up, and we will be opening them ever more in the legal sphere, in the sphere of economic possibilities. As is known, we are undertaking various efforts for foreign credit aid to make this easier for us. But everything depends above all on whether we can liberate our own energy, our own resourcefulness. If we can liberate it then we will pass through this difficult period. That is why I would also like, not waiting for another opportunity, to address a truth that has exceptional importance at present, to appeal to the people of Silesia, to the miners, about the coal problem. We have a shortfall of 13.5 million tonnes of coal. There is no other way out, no other solution, but to increase the volume of extraction.

That is why I address an appeal to the miners, in this the nation's need, to undertake Saturday work to the end of this year and in the first quarter of next year, so that in this way we can increase coal extraction. I appeal to my friends in Solidarity, I appeal to both of the trade unions to support this call. It is an important matter, an important appeal, and a great plea. This appeal that I have directed to the miners concerns us all: We can all give something more of ourselves. And from this there will grow this very bit of good which we are lacking.

Finally, I would like to tell all my compatriots the following: that we should learn to look with trust into the future; with trust—for things are hard, and things will be hard for us for some time—but things will get better. For the last 40 years or so there has not been such a moment as the one through which we are living at present. The fate of Poland, the fate of the country lies in our hands. Let us at last take this fate into our hands and we shall make Poland a normal country, a prosperous country, a country in which there will be a great deal of satisfaction and joy stemming from the fact that Poland really is our joint possession.

Seventy-one years ago, those people who faced the reconstruction of the Polish state also did not have things easy and they too did not know how things would go—whether they would be able to unite Poland and create one organism from three partitions. They faced great difficulties, and they overcame them. And we in this present moment, at this very important moment of

changes, must also cope. I view this with confidence: We shall carry out this task. The fatherland really is a great common cause.

Mass Grave Found Near Zamosc, Second Sought

LD1411145989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] At the village of Jacnia, near Krasnobrod in Zamosc voivodship, a mass forest grave has been discovered in which a dozen or so mutilated human skeletons were found. Preliminary investigation shows that, most probably, on 31 October 1945, thirty political prisoners from Zamosc were brought to this location, shot and their bodies mutilated. Employees of the then Security Office (UB) in Zamosc are responsible for this crime. A location of the second grave is being sought and the investigation has now been taken over by the voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Zamosc.

Further Reportage on PZPR 16th Plenum Meeting

Roundup on Proceedings

AU1311085689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 89 pp 1, 3, 6

[Report by Anna Pawlowska: "The Course of the Proceedings"]

[Text] Monday's [6 November] meeting of the Central Committee attracted more foreign and Polish journalists than any previous party meeting. Opening the session, Mieczyslaw Rakowski joked that there was one journalist present for every Central Committee member. So, there was a feeling in the air that something sensational would happen.

That the Central Committee first secretary introduced as many as seven new voivodship committee first secretaries at the beginning of the meeting was already something unusual: Bogdan Babicz, Ciechanow Voivodship; Jozef Krotki, Konin Voivodship; Leon Szelag, Olsztyn Voivodship; Jerzy Szeliga, Opole Voivodship; Wieslaw Ciesielski, Rzeszow Voivodship; Zenon Cynkor, Walbryzch Voivodship; and Boguslaw Kedzial, Wroclaw Voivodship.

The main purpose of the 16th plenum was to adopt a position on the results produced by the work of the Central Congress Commission, which were submitted in the form of working drafts of three documents: a programmatic declaration; the provision of a statutory model for the party; and principles for the election of delegates to the 11th congress.

The first document was submitted by Tadeusz Fiszbach and the remaining two documents were submitted by Aleksander Kwasniewski. Tadeusz Fiszbach and Aleksander Kwasniewski are chairmen of the two appropriate Central Congress Commission teams.

In reporting on the work of the two teams and publishing statements made by their chairmen, we have discussed the main directions of debate and the basic substantive decisions that have been made. We are thus providing no more than highly abridged versions of the two speeches.

Tadeusz Fiszbach on the Programmatic Declaration

The team has concluded that a single draft programmatic declaration, which encompasses the basic values that the party espouses and the main goals that it seeks to achieve and which is rooted in Polish reality, should be submitted for the discussion preceding the congress.

These were and are the main subjects discussed by the team: the party's social base; the principles according to which its internal life functions; the party's attitude toward the past; the democratic and law-governed character of socialism; the place of Marxism among the party's ideological options; and ownership relations.

A separate and no less, perhaps even more, controversial subject is that of the manner in which the new party is to be brought about: the cessation of Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] activity or the fundamental transformation of the party.

Tadeusz Fiszbach posed the following open question: Are the concepts that have been prepared sufficiently bold and do they contribute genuinely novel ideas?

He reiterated the team proposal that the 11th congress adopt, in addition to the declaration and statute, several separate stances on topical national issues.

Aleksander Kwasniewski on the Statute and the Election of Delegates

There are some statute provisions that have to wait until it is possible to bring them into line with the declaration as well as the law on political parties. It was the teams' aim to discard all the outdated internal party procedures that are not suited to the new conditions that exist and to introduce effective democratic mechanisms and principles for the formation of party ruling bodies that are not biased in favor of the leadership, to ensure that the party can respond rapidly to the changing situation, and to revive the party as a wide-ranging social movement.

The main topics discussed were: party structures, ideas pertaining to the creation of sympathizers as a category as well as categories of collective membership and organizational affiliation, the place of programmatic platforms and factions, the position of the parliamentary club, and the frequency with which congresses are to be held.

Regarding principles governing the election of delegates to the congress, there are three options that the team submits to the Central Committee: direct elections, election by way of electoral colleges, and election on the basis of programmatic lists.

The next item on the agenda was a report on the current political situation presented by Janusz Basiak, head of the Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission.

A 26-man Resolutions and Suggestions Commission was also elected.

The Debate

The first speaker was Stanislaw Weglinski, a miner form the "Murcki" Coal Mine in Katowice, who was the first of many speakers who expressed resolute support for the direct election of delegates to the congress. He also rejected the team proposal that members of the PZPR Deputies' Club be automatically granted the right to be delegates. He suggested that the Central Committee formulate a party stance on the deteriorating standard of living of working people, which would, in particular, call for the establishment of a minimum social wage and measures to defend public property from foreign capital.

Wojciech Wisniewski, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation Economics Commission, observed that "we have not been granted special leave to attend the congress" and concentrated on the economic, informational, and international effects of the government's actions. He deemed it wrong and dangerous to forge an alliance between party and opposition reformers in the face of a "failed" society.

Janusz Kubasiewicz, first secretary of the Warsaw committee, proposed that the rules for the election of delegates (under the direct election option) should be supplemented by an explanation of the delegates' powers so that all who decided to stand for election are conscious of the fact that they are assuming more responsibility than at any other time in the past. He also submitted the proposal of his voivodship committee that primary party organizations and basic echelons should cover 50 percent of the costs incurred by delegates in attending the congress and he communicated the readiness of members of the Warsaw aktiv to accommodate congress delegates in their homes.

Piotr Zaremba, Polish State Railways superintendent in Warsaw, proposed that two principles be observed in the election rules: the opinions of primary party organizations and the collection of 50 signatures, as, in his opinion, primary party organizations should not be divested of their statutory rights by way of reliance on just one of these principles.

Jerzy Majka, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, commented on the great path travelled by the Central Congress Commission in a short time: from a situation in which there was a plethora of views completely at variance with each other to one in which there were differences that were no longer mutually exclusive. He called for great precision in the editing of congress documents so that no doubt remained about whether the issue was one of a modern form of socialism or a modified form of capitalism.

Arguing against a special congress status for deputies, Jerzy Janicki, deputy of "Ursus" in Warsaw, emphasized the importance of equal rights for all those seeking election.

Jan Zielinski, representative of the Voivodship Congress Commission in Katowice, said he believed that the question on changing the name of the party was formulated in a way that suggested a particular answer. He expressed support for maintaining the name PZPR for a party that has been fundamentally transformed. He also observed that the 10th plenum was innovative and of a pioneering nature and he thus called into question the statement in the draft declaration that "the days of the PZPR are over."

Kazimierz Kik, research workers at Academy of Social Sciences, speaking on behalf of the "8 July" Movement, called for the right to indicate the programmatic options supported by candidates on ballot papers.

Jan Rychlewski, professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences, came out in favor of an alternative text of the draft declaration and said he considered the one presented by Congress Commission to be of a defensive kind. He observed that the legitimate question "What kind of socialism" could be replaced by the question "Should we have socialism at all?" He deemed efforts to combine capitalist modes of production with socialist principles of distribution a dangerous illusion. He maintained that programmatic unity was not possible in the party at the present time and consequently efforts should be directed toward creating one party in which there are various programmatic currents, but which is united in the political struggle.

Stanislaw Kanp, an engine-driver with Polish State Railways in Krakow, proposed restoring the qualification that candidates for election as delegates have the backing of primary party organizations and possess 50 signatures expressing support for them. He also came out in favor of PZPR deputies following the normal electoral path to the congress.

Professor Henryk Jablonski joined in the exchange of views on whether "socialism had outlived itself" and said that the present system had not been socialist, although it had enabled the country to make tangible progress and had eliminated many social injustices. So, the key issue is that of the real, humanist socialism that is still to be attained. He also referred to the achievements and experiences of the Polish Socialist Party.

Minister Marcin Swiecicki took issue with the report presented by Janusz Basiak and with criticism of the government that had been voiced during the debate. He said that although the moves made by the government had painful social side-effects, they were essential and that many of them were a continuation of actions taken by previous governments. Minister Swiecicki's statement prompted several responses, some of which were quite impassioned. For example, Marian Marek, a brigade leader at the Truck Factory in Lublin, demanded an

explanation of the position represented in the government by ministers who were party members. Wladyslaw Fidzinski, a Warsaw doctor, spoke in a similar vein. Journalist Jan Glowczyk pointed to the ambiguities in Minister Swiecicki's statement concerning, among other things, the threat of unemployment, the problem of state enterprise bankruptcy, and the current drastic impoverishment of state sector employees. In reply to these views, the minister said that it is not possible to defend socialist values without modernizing the economy even if it entailed the use of painful methods.

Zygmunt Muranski, foreman at the "Rydultowy" Plant in Wodzislaw, presented the views of the Katowice Voivodship Congress Commission on the subject of the draft documents. Malgorzata Skonieczna, a specialist from the Engineering Service for Agriculture Center in Bydgoszcz, took issue with views to the effect that the party had gone into complete decline and indicated that party members had shown significant concern, interest in preparations for the congress.

Professor Marian Orzechowski, head of the PZPR Deputies Club, was critical of the draft programmatic declaration and said that the team had failed to find at least a minimum common position on values and to define socialism's identity. He rejected the view that socialism had outlived itself and that the workers class was disappearing, and he proposed the inclusion of a provision on emancipation from the mistakes of the past, from dogmas, and from the preponderance of ideology over real life. He came out in favor of the direct election of delegates and also defended automatically granting deputies the rights of delegates. He also proposed incorporating a provision into the statute that would make the club "a leading body of equal status" in the party.

Jerzy Nastalczyk, a tool setter at the "Zeltor" Plant in Zgierz, said, in response to the previous speaker, that there are deputies who wish to be elected according to the normal procedure, and so, in a sense, two categories of delegate-deputies would come into being. He also proposed that delegates themselves receive partial reimbursement in addition to the Warsaw Committee proposal that primary party organizations and echelons cover 50 percent of the costs incurred by their delegates.

Professor Hieronim Kubiak expressed a quite radical view in that he came out in favor of the complete dissolution of the PZPR and the creation of a fundamentally different party. He accused Central Committee members and other activists of assuming "different faces" with respect to the same issues depending on circumstances. His reply to opponents of social democracy in the party was that "social democracies had obtained results not in theory but in practice."

In response to the speaker's view that many party members, feeling that they are to blame for the past, want nothing more than to "step down honorably," Zbigniew Michalek observed that people in his primary party organization do not feel guilty, do not want to leave the PZPR, and are trying to make their state agricultural enterprises function well.

Professor Jozef Lipiec reflected on the range of the concept of the left, which includes currents that have failed historically. The speaker was of the opinion that the term, the left, had to be defined more precisely. The question that he posed was: "Can one organize a Polish left that is composed solely of former or present PZPR members?"

Professor Jerzy Wiatr asserted that "the different viewpoints cannot be reconciled," and he tried to establish the values that he considers relevant for a new party. Support for his position and views was forthcoming from Professors Kubiak and Lipiec and the subsequent speaker, Janusz Malinowski, a journalist from SZTANDAR LUDU in Lublin. He was also one of the speakers who expressed opposition to the direct election of congress delegates.

Tomasz Nalecz, a Warsaw University lecturer, said that he believed that only a party that stood for democratic socialism was socially acceptable and said that he hoped that only a minority of Central Committee members were of a different opinion. He concluded that deputies were entitled to special treatment at the congress, because, in his opinion, "They find themselves in the most difficult of situations, as they cannot deny that they belong to the party in the way that others do."

Manfred Gorywoda, first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Committee, took issue with Tomasz Nalecz's defense of the declaration statement that "socialism has not proved itself." He asked what had not proved itself: socialism, or what has been called socialism until now. If one form of socialism has not proved itself, then we want to strive to produce another socialism, which means that there is a "bad" socialism and a "good" socialism.

Rszyard Brodowicz, a fitter at the "Wifama" Plant in Lodz and the last speaker in the debate, proposed including issues relating to agriculture in the declaration.

Zbigniew Michalek spoke on behalf of the Resolutions and Suggestions Commission of which he is chairman. He proposed that the draft programmatic declaration—once improvements have been made to the introduction and the international section, and additional sections dealing with culture and education are provided—be submitted for discussion by the entire party. This should also apply to the provisions of the statute, which have essentially not prompted any observations or reservations.

Next Aleksander Kwasniewski announced improvements to the draft regulations for the election of delegates to the 11th congress. The course of the plenum has determined that delegates will be elected directly. Additions have been made to the draft regulations granting delegates the authority "to make any decisions pertaining to the statute, program, and name of the party."

In line with the views expressed at the plenum, the requirement that candidates obtain the backing of their primary party organization as well as 50 signatures of party members expressing support for their candidacy will be retained. If a candidate so wishes, the programmatic platform or organization or group that has submitted his candidacy can be indicated on the ballot paper. PZPR deputies have the right to attend as delegates subject to the "approval of their parent primary party organization."

Jerzy Janicki reiterated his proposal that deputies only be given advisory status at the congress and called for a vote on the issue. The proposal was rejected. Stanislaw Weglinski called for a vote on his objections to the inclusion of information indicating candidates associations with platforms or groups on ballot papers. This call for a vote was also turned down.

In the vote the resolution as a whole, there was one vote against and one abstention.

Regarding organization matters, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, acting on behalf of the Politburo, asked the Central Committee to grant the request of Boguslaw Kolodziejczak that he be released from his duties in the Central Committee Secretariat and as head of the Secretariat Chancery in connection with his acceptance of other employment; the request of Boguslaw Kedzia that he be released from his duties as head of the Science and Education Commission Department-Secretariat in connection with his election as first secretary of the Voivodship Commission in Wroclaw; and the request of Slawomir Tabowski that he be released from the post of head of Propaganda Commission Department-Secretariat in connection with his being proposed for the post of president of "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House.

Leszek Grzybowski was made head of the Secretariat Chancery (which provides the Central Committee Work Bureau and is directly responsible to the Central Committee first secretary) and Boguslaw Plaza was made head of the Propaganda Commission Department- Secretariat.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski delivered the plenum closing speech.

Rules for Electing Delgates

AU1311082389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov p 3

["The Principles of Electing Delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress," adopted by the 16th PZPR Plenum in Warsaw on 6 November]

[Text] The election of delegates to the 11th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is conducted according to principles which guarantee:

—Direct influence by party members and candidate members on the process of nominating and electing delegates;

—The freedom to seek ideology and programs, and present them publicly for assessment by society and the entire party;

—Equal participation in the congress delegates' election campaign by every orientation and platform in the party, which is a fundamental condition for preparing the congress under the present structure and composition of the PZPR;

—The holding of elections according to uniform rules throughout the party, which should achieve an organizational efficiency of the entire campaign;

—The nomination and election of delegates by social procedures, supervised by party members and candidate members.

I. General Principles

1. Delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress are elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot. The delegates are empowered to make any decisions concerning the party's future, including decisions on the subject of its program, statute, and name.

2. Everyone who became a PZPR member or candidate member before 31 October 1989 enjoys active and passive voting rights [czynne i bierne brawo wyborcze].

3. For the purpose of conducting the election of delegates to the 11th Congress, election districts [okregi wyborcze] with several mandates are hereby created. Single-mandate election districts may only be formed by factory party organizations.

In each election district, delegates will be elected according to the following principle: One delegate to represent 1,500 PZPR members and candidate members, according to the number of PZPR members in existence on 30 September 1989.

4. Voting will be carried out in election wards [obwody glosowania], each of which will cover one or more primary party organizations (factory, rural, or regional party organizations).

5. The elections are conducted and supervised, with the organizational and technical support of party committees, by the following bodies:

—District election committees;

—Ward voting committees.

General supervision over the election of delegates is exercised by the Presidium of the Central Congress Commission.

Thorny matters will be settled by district election commissions, voivodship congress commissions, and the Central Congress Commission.

6. The following have the right to nominate candidates to become delegates to the 11th Congress:

—PZPR members and candidate members;

—Primary party organizations (on the basis of a resolution);

—Party debating clubs, initiatives, movements, and other accords plus precongress programmatic platforms;

—Groups of party members inside representative bodies, central and voivodship bodies, and in youth and socioprofessional organizations, associations, and self-governing bodies.

Each candidate must have the approval of his primary party organization and must provide evidence of his support in the form of signatures by at least 50 PZPR members and candidate members in the election district in which he intends to stand.

One may stand for election in any election district, and in more than one such district.

Members of voting committees may not stand as candidates.

7. The number of candidates is unlimited, and should be greater than the number of final delegates.

8. Candidates have the right to organize their own election campaigns. Party committees and primary party organizations, plus the party press, are obliged to provide candidates with information and organizational and technical support, within the limits of their resources.

9. Candidates will be listed in alphabetical order on the ballot papers, with their surnames and Christian names. If they wish, candidates may see to it that ballot papers also record the political platform they represent or the name of the person or body that nominated them.

10. Individual candidates will be voted for. On the ballot paper, the names of the candidates for whom one is voting shall be left undeleted. The number of undeleted names cannot exceed the number of delegates due to represent the election district.

Ballot papers in which more names are left undeleted than the number of delegates due to represent the district will be invalid.

11. Those candidates who win the greatest number of votes will be duty elected as delegates. If in any one district two or more candidates win the same number of valid votes, and the number of such candidates exceeds the number of delegates to represent this district, then runoff elections will be held after 7 days, according to the same rules as the first round. In the runoff, all candidates who have achieved an identical number of votes will compete. Those who win the greatest number of votes in the runoff will be duly elected.

12. The results of the election will be confirmed by the 11th PZPR Congress.

13. After they have received permission from their own primary party organization, members of the PZPR Deputies Club of the 10th Sejm may take part in the 11th Congress on the same basis as delegates.

At the 11th Congress, members of the outgoing Central Committee and Central Auditing and Control Commission, who are not delegates, will act in an advisory capacity.

II.Organizational Principles

1. Voivodship committees, in concert with voivodship congress commissions, will divide voivodships into election districts consisting of one or more rural or equivalent organizations; establish the headquarters of the district election commissions; and publish this information in the central and local party and nonparty press.

PZPR election districts in the Armed Forces will be established according to the same principles.

The Central Committee will determine the number of delegates who can represent each voivodship party organization and each party organization in the Armed Forces, according to the above principles.

2. Rural and equivalent committees, plus factory committees, will divide the country into election wards, and will inform the voivodship committees about this.

In order to hold the elections, voting premises shall be equipped with sealed ballot boxes.

Voting may also be carried out during meetings and conferences by party members and candidate members, in pursuance of the above regulations.

3. District voting commissions, consisting of not less than nine persons, shall be appointed by voivodship committees, in concert with voivodship election commissions, out of members of voivodship congress commissions and bodies entitled to nominate candidates for congress delegates.

District voting commissions will accept the nomination of candidates, publish information about them, arrange for the printing of ballot papers, and supervise all voting activity in the district.

4. District voting commissions will prepare lists of candidates for congress delegates, in which the candidates will appear in the order in which their applications were received. The lists will be published in the central and local party press and in internal party bulletins. The information provided will consist of the name, age, length of party service, party function, occupation, and

political platform of each candidate. The name of the person or persons who nominated the candidate shall also be given.

After the period for the filing of applications has ended and the lists of candidates have been published, the district election commissions will arrange for the printing of the ballot papers.

5. Ward election commissions, consisting of not less than 3 persons, shall be appointed by rural or equivalent committees and factory committees, in concert with primary party organizations. Ward election committees shall conduct the voting in each ward and count the results.

6. The election of delegates should be completed by 20 December 1989.

7. Voting premises should display information on each candidate, which should also state who nominated him.

During the voting, members of the ward voting commissions will check against a list of party members the names of all party members and candidate members who have cast their vote. This lists will be prepared by party committees, and will contain the names of all PZPR members and candidate members in a given ward who joined the PZPR before 31 October 1989.

8. The results will be counted by ward election commissions, and the tallies and used ballot papers will be immediately handed over to the district election commissions.

9. District election commissions will count the results of the voting in their district and immediately publish the result in the national and local party press and internal party bulletins, whereupon the tallies will be handed over to the Central Committee.

10. Trusted persons recommended by a candidate or group of candidates may belong to district and ward election commissions.

11. Patterns for all printed matter to be used for the elections will be established by the Secretariat of the Central Committee Party Work Commission, in concert with the Central Congress Commission.

The PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 6 November 1989.

Orzechowski Speech to Plenum

AU1211173189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 89 p 4

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of PZPR Deputies Club, at 16th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 6 November]

[Text] This plenary meeting of the Central Committee, one of the last, is of particular importance. We bear an extraordinary responsibility. The decisions that we make today, the quality of the documents that we submit to party members will not only determine the course of the debate, but will determine the character of the 11th congress, above all. So it is not only a question of our party, but a wider question of the future of the Polish left and of the future of the forces of progress, democracy, and socialism.

We also hope, and I think that such hopes are also shared by party members, that our decisions will contribute to the emergence, on the foundations of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], of a party that will be better and wiser than us in realizing the goals and values that have inspired the socialist movement on Polish soil since its beginnings, that is, since its beginnings almost 110 years ago. Today we are being attacked from all sides by statements, frequently triumphant cries, that socialism is departing from the historical scene, that socialism has not proved itself, that it has failed. We know what the reactions to these statements and cries are. Some are delighted and consider them to be a form of revenge for individual and group injustices, for the discrimination that they were victims of, and for the unsuccessful experiments that the party carried out in the course of its history. However, there are also reactions of a different kind.

To put it briefly, others have concluded that the PZPR ship has suffered a crushing blow, that it has to be speedily evacuated, and that posts and position have to be saved by going over to what was until now the opposition. Finally, there are those who even draw the most bitter conclusions possible from our party's past. They are those who realize that in discussing the PZPR, its past, and its present, the fundamental issue is not the party or its 2 million members, but Poland, socialism's aims and ideas, ideas that are indestructible, regardless of what anyone may say on the subject. This is not because this is our opinion, but because such is the logic of contemporary development.

The predictions about the end of socialism are premature, just as our predictions about the end of capitalism—that it had already collapsed—were premature. I firmly believe our national life would be poorer without the presence of a socialist choice, a socialist option, and socialist values and goals, and that parliamentary democracy, which is still taking its first steps, would be exposed to infinite dangers, that political pluralism would be lame, the danger of a new monopoly emerging would be very real, and Poland's position would be weaker in its immediate external context. It should also be remembered that socialism has and will continue to have very strong social roots, which are commensurate with the degree of poverty, destitution, injustice, and discrimination. All of those who have to earn a living and who are opposed to exploitation and oppression will always be advocates of those values and slogans that gave birth to the socialist movement, as will the workers class.

Incidentally, my first criticism of the draft declaration is that I could not find one mention of workers or the

workers class in it. One can prattle on about the disappearance of the workers class and express regrets about it not being what we imagined it to be, but the workers class does exist. One can say that it is the workers class of the early stages of industrialization, of industries that have already become somewhat outmoded, but it is the largest class of the producers of material assets! It is numerically large and powerful.

Whoever fails to perceive this commits a grave error that can easily and painfully backfire. That is why I think that we will be doing more than just flirting with the workers class if we insert the words worker and workers class into the text of the declaration that we will want to present to the public.

Quite simply, socialism and Poland's working people need a political force that will promote and struggle for socialist goals, for the system of values that groups together the supporters of socialism. It has to be stated with regret that the PZPR, of which I have been a member for 37 years now, is not in a position to perform this role at the present time.

When we look at the landscape in which the PZPR has found itself over the last few months, it often reminds one of the landscape after a lost battle: an army that is in disarray, a general staff that has lost control of the situation and is out of touch with its subordinate commanders and units, an army that has lost confidence in its superiors, an army that has been abandoned by its allies and, as is customary, in which there are internal arguments about the reasons for defeat and the way out.

It reminds me of the arguments about the reasons for the failure of the November Uprising and the way out that were current during the period of the Great Emigration. Unfortunately, many of our comrades have lost their instinct of self-preservation and are engaging in self-destruction and self-annihilation in the belief that they will save themselves by way of collective self-destruction. I think that certain important conditions have to be satisfied if the political formation that will emerge form the PZPR is to recover public confidence. I will only mention a few of them.

We have to liberate ourselves from the past, from what was a source of weakness in the past and led to defeat. Irrespective of what was said on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the PZPR in December of last year, we have to go back to 1948.

My personal thesis is as follows. The PZPR fell victim to Stalinism and being a victim of Stalinism, it became an advocate and proponent of Stalinism on Polish soil. It also has to be said that there was another aspect of the union that created the PZPR: the removal from the organized left of hundreds of thousands of members of the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers Party, and, as a rule, those were the most active—they spoke boldly and were active members.

I also think that in conducting this assessment, in freeing ourselves from the past, we should return to martial law, and to what happened after 13 December, above all. My thesis is (and I do not think that I am alone in thinking this) that to a serious degree the opportunities that were created by 13 December, the safety net that we had, were lost, were wasted. Those who were Politburo members at the time no doubt remember the first meeting of the Politburo following the imposition of martial law, at which very important words were heard to the effect that from now on we would be doing everything by ourselves, that it would no longer be possible to hold "Solidarity" responsible for our failures and for what we failed to accomplish, or to place the blame on its actions.

The opposition was paralyzed: Its leaders were locked up in their places of internment, and we had complete freedom of action. Yet those very interesting and innovative things that were said in this hall at the seventh plenary meeting of the Central Committee, the first meeting following the introduction of martial law, were not realized.

The third point is that of freeing ourselves from dogmas, from everything that has failed to survive when set against reality, regardless of what was said by Marx, Engels, Lenin, or others who created scientific socialism. We have to simply say that it has been a long time since we possessed the philosopher's stone, which would naturally bestow power and wisdom on us. So, we have to free ourselves form the supremacy of ideology over real life.

Next, a program has to be formulated that will be commensurate with real social needs and our capabilities.

Furthermore, there has to be fundamental change within the party regarding its principles, structures, and forms and ways of acting so that it can really become, as we have often said, a vital community of ideas, people, and actions.

Finally, the congress must effect a fundamental change with respect to the age of leaders. The present generation of leaders is simply burnt out. It is capable of cooperating in bringing the party into new territory, but is no longer capable of leading it.

A few observations concerning the declaration: I highly value Comrade Fiszbach's experience and flexibility, and I very much admire the efforts that he has made to produce a basic common position on the values, aspirations, and tasks that could unite the divided left within the party and beyond it. Unfortunately, squaring the circle has turned out to be tougher and it appears that it has not been possible to achieve this. A compromise document has emerged, but that is not too much of a problem. However, in several places the document is simply colorless and vague. I fear that it will not stimulate debate within the party or excite the imagination, but will cause some irritation at the very most.

As for the statute, it seems to me that a fundamental matter is the definition of the principles for electing delegates to the 11th congress so that they are elected as democratically as possible. After all, the point is that the delegates that we elect should be as representative as possible of the currents and orientations in today's party.

One more matter: It seems to me that we should not adopt the principles saying that the Central Congress Commission should not grant Sejm deputies attending the congress the same rights as delegates. Quite simply, these deputies should be elected as delegates in accordance with the regulations. I consider it very important that all members of the PZPR Deputies Club fully participate in the congress. Only then will they feel jointly responsible for the decisions of the congress and feel that they are joint authors of those decisions. Only then will they assume responsibility for the full implementation of these decisions. I think that this is the way to minimize the enormous risk that some of our deputies will fail to identify themselves with the party that emerges from the congress. I wish to be understood correctly. It is not the interests of deputies of the club that are at stake here. It is something that is really needed by the party, not by the club or by the deputies. Now some remarks about the party's statutory mode: We should not immediately create a party of bureaucratic, hierarchical structures. We should give up the National Executive Committee. A Supreme Council with its Presidium as the executive organ is sufficient. My second observation concerns the parliamentary club. I propose that the draft should contain a second option in the form of the solutions that are employed by other parties operating in parliamentary democracies, that the parliamentary group in a definite sense is a full-fledged party command center, a center with specific regulations concerning interaction, exchanges of leadership personnel, and so on. Finally, one more remark: During the precongress debate, all platforms, options, and concepts are equal. None of us, not even we in the Central Committee, have the right to prejudge that the "8 July Movement" is the "right" movement, whereas the Working People's Movement is a little worse and that some other platform is antireformist. Only the party as a complete entity in this debate can make such decisions. Everything that we are presenting for discussion is merely a suggestion. It should be repeated very strongly that the fate of the party lies in the hands of 2 million full and candidate members. No one can make decisions on their behalf, not even the Central Committee. They may and must reach a decision if we really want to avoid a repetition of the very unfavorable Hungarian experience. As I have said, imposing anything from above may end in catastrophe. I am convinced that party members know best what is good and what is bad, who has deserved what, and how much everyone is worth. This is today's only path leading to the establishment that stands a chance of regaining society's trust.

Rakowski's Closing Address

AU0911124889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 89 pp 1,3

[Closing speech by PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at 16th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 6 November]

[Text] If someone asked me what I think of the 16th Plenum debates, I would find it difficult to answer. There were many remarks and proposals that really are worth taking a closer look at. On the other hand, it was obvious that some of us still prefer to live in the past. We tend to be lazy about perceiving the future, and display an absence of the energy that is expected.

Listening to what was said about the future, one reaches the conclusion that our perception of our own individuality and identity is still hazy. We have said more than once that we will never beat our opponents in every matter concerning general democracy, but we can specify our own separate objectives on the road to a specific democracy intended for working people. I have in mind the various forms of self-management, starting with workers' self-management.

It is odd that no one today mentioned worker self-management, which, in fact, is already being accorded second-rate importance and generally ignored. No one made a comparison between the demands concerning workers' self-management made by our former opponents in the past and the present government's neglect of these bodies.

As for the past, a lot of criticism has been voiced today. I realize that we are going to refer to the past all the time. That is inevitable. But when considering the past and the future, one should preserve the correct proportions between them. Second, when assessing our past, I would ask all professors, doctors, university people, and intellectual and physical workers to remember the tortuous, often tragic, paths that every revolution follows. There is still not enough evidence of this realization in our speeches and analyses. This creates the impression that we are a people cursed by history, bearing a load consisting of nothing but atrocities and misfortunes.

I would also like you to remember, comrades, that we ourselves have never occupied such a low position in the past 40 years. How can one separate certain features of our policies, ranging from 1945 through the 1950's right up to 1956, from the fate that has touched the entire socialist community? We spoke about this many times today. But someone also said that we failed to take advantage of martial law. I happened to be consulting my notes made during the martial law years. I kept a regular diary then. Things were not at all easy for the ruling team of the period, to which so much criticism has been addressed, and this team did not have the domestic and foreign support necessary for it to pursue a different policy. Comrade Kubiak, whom I respect very much,

today asked questions about the past. It is true that theoretically, many things could have been avoided. But that was the way of reality.

However, today is not the time to discuss past events and episodes for which we have been criticized. Perhaps the team that is scheduled to assess the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] will examine and recall these facts. But there is one thing I would ask of those comrades who belonged to the parry leadership then. Do not suddenly develop a short memory. I have not done so. I could recount to you the situation inside the Polish party month after month, despite martial law. One must not forget that period, or else one will become biased, and I think everyone would like to be an impartial judge of one's friends and comrades. I too would like to be judged impartially.

The 11th Congress takes place in less than 3 months. I think that today, one can already ask not only what we will bring to the congress, meaning what kind of programmatic thinking, but also with what we will leave the congress—with what kind of party, whether just one party or several, and whether we will leave the congress united for the sake of a struggle for socialism, or divided. We must approach this question very seriously, comrades. We must rid ourselves of all our personal disenchantment, ambition, dashed hopes, and personal contests. A reply to the question of what kind of party we will leave the congress with should form the topic of the precongress campaign.

I personally am in favor of the scenario whereby the 11th Congress will produce a party that is not only conscious of the goals to which it aspires but which will also preserve the present party's status in political and economic life. That will not be easy.

Comrade Lipiec asked who is organizing the left wing. Who does he think? Surely not the right wing. Only the left wing is doing so, the left wing represented in the Congress Commission, which in turn is represented in various clubs and organizations, and also here in the Central Committee. That, I think, is our historical task. I myself have no intention of ignoring it, and I think there are many people who consider themselves capable of organizing the Polish left according to principles that take into account reality and the foreseeable future.

Of course, this task can only be carried out if we do not become bogged down in fruitless talks and reminiscences of the past. I think we are going to be taking an examination on maturity and imagination in the coming months, including at the congress. This examination must be passed by the energetic part of the party, as well as the congress delegates who will be elected by party organizations.

Some people called for imagination today. Comrades, it is impossible to set limits on imagination. Life is richer than the boldest thinking. Did anyone at the beginning of the 1980's imagine perestroyka and the appearance of a golden nugget like Gorbachev? None of us expected a development of events like that. No political scientist in the world did. There is not the slightest evidence that anyone foresaw what would happen. In a word, our imagination is limited. Let those who prove this limitation not be accused of conservatism and stupidity. Events frequently transcend anything one can possibly imagine.

But let us imagine a Poland consisting of a left wing divided into innumerable little parties, with whom our political opponent can play as he likes. It is possible to imagine that, because an example is provided by Poland between the wars, or other countries that have had several such parties. I think one can also imagine how disappointed all the many working people who trust us would be if we left the congress as a divided left wing.

Perhaps I am attaching myself too closely to the past, but as far as I know Polish society, it is not true that society has entertained nothing but hatred toward the PZPR for the past few decades. Of course this hatred is political, but I would warn against generalization. There are many people in Poland who have combined their fortunes with those of the PZPR, regardless of its distortions and mistakes. And they did not do this just for the sake of their careers, though there are many who did it for that reason alone. I appeal for fairness when shouldering the PZPR with blame; the party should be blamed for the right things.

Finally, we can also imagine what our "Solidarity" allies would say if we left the congress divided and squabbling. One can also imagine the disappointment of our allies in the East and in the West if the Polish party ceased to exist as a political entity that determines the country's development. There is such a danger. After all, apart from justified reasons for bitterness as expressed in various proposals and conclusions, we also have our own national characteristics, involving a tendency to fight each other instead of resolving matters. Let us not be ashamed of admitting that we are like that. One can be ashamed of it, but let us not be afraid of admitting to it.

I think that during this precongress debate, and during all debates on the future of the left wing, we should remember that what is happening in Poland, including in our party, has to be viewed in a broader European context. Central and Eastern Europe has entered a phase of revolutionary changes, which means that we are responsible not only for the fate of the left wing in Poland, but for the development and position of the left wing in the whole of Europe, and not just the socialist countries. A much desired Polish thinking in terms of Europe cannot be restricted to the suggestion that we join the Socialist International, as some comrades have suggested. Europe should not end there. Similarly, our membership of Europe must not be limited to a referral to the traditions of the European socialist movement. It should assume responsibility for the direction in which Europe proceeds.

Comrades, everyone is watching us, not only our class ideological opponents, but also our friends in the East and the left wing everywhere. For instance, they are checking on whether we use the word "socialist" at all, whether we are in favor of socialized production resources, and whether we honor the dignity of working people. From this angle, every single one of our documents and statements is being carefully analyzed. They want to know whether we are helping the European left wing, or shutting ourselves away enmeshed in our national affairs, not caring about what Europe expects from us. This is a progressive Europe. It has not disappeared yet, just as the class divisions in the world, Europe, and Poland have not disappeared.

Let us return to the subject of the kind of party with which we should leave the congress. In their speeches and press articles, comrades from various clubs and movements have reprimanded me for wanting to preserve the party's unity at all costs. Their line of thinking must have been: The first secretary is fond of the unity in which he grew up, a unity based on diktat, or even on voluntarism on the part of the leadership. Finally, he has fallen in love with the kind of unity that seals the lips of all comrades. Well, I have no intention of defending myself against these accusations.

All I want to do is say to everyone here and to all party members that I not only support the party's unity until the Congress, but I will also do everything I can to make the 11th Congress produce a party that is united around specific goals. This has nothing to do with stifling freedom of thought and expression inside this party. I will also see to it that there is one center of command, regardless of who belongs to it. And I will also support the idea that no one has or should have a monopoly on searching for the philosopher's stone.

Comrades, one can see that a desire to overcome adversaries is more than just a theoretical danger. Now that we have dispensed with the practice of imposing views on others, let us make sure that no one claims that he was the first to discover the final truth.

Of course, one should note with satisfaction that the debates inside the party so far—not throughout the party, as you well know, but at various important and high-level meetings—have brought a consensus of views, though there are different ways of looking at the same problems. This consensus is a good sign for the future. However, I would warn against complacency—that is a disease that has finished off more than one political movement and leadership team. You all know we have a long way to go before we can say that a considerable part of the party is participating in this debate.

The example of Hungary, to which you refer, really is an example worth referring to. It so happens that for the time being, the reformers only consist of 20,000 people. That confirms my old oft-repeated thesis whereby the reformist camp is a minority, and not just in Poland. An attachment to the past is much stronger than a willingness to enter uncharted territory, where no one knows what can happen.

And now one can ask what our most urgent and most important task is, in the context of what I have just said. Maybe what I am about to say is a heresy and will not bring me any applause, but I think the most important matter today and tomorrow is to concentrate on defending individual platforms and programmatic proposals. In any case, there are not many differences between them. The most important matter is constant, daily work among party members. The purpose of this work must be to overcome apathy and mistrust in any party or organized left wing movement whatsoever, not just the PZPR.

That is a very pragmatic task, comrades! But the influence of every party is determined by the results it achieves in its daily work to win the hearts and minds of people. I refer to this obvious truth with slight embarrassment, because one would like to say one's goodbyes to the accompaniment of beautiful words and noble ideas. But what can we do if the reality is remorseless? One can feel this reality very strongly in this building.

What can one do if party members are surrendering their membership cards and the political adversary is resorting to means that can weaken the party's influence? What can one do if a considerable number of party organizations are absolutely passive? Outside these windows exists reality, comrades. We will not change it by means of appeals and open letters, but by means of hard work. The question arises, can we afford this, and to what extent?

A part of the present reality is the concentrated attack by the adversary against the basic achievements of working people, an attack on the party, facilitated by the fact that self-chastisement has become a custom inside our party. Perhaps self-chastisement should be included in the new party's statute? I ask you comrades, in which sphere do we display the greatest energy? In repulsing attacks by the adversary or in talking about the party and its future?

I ask you: Who is forcing us to take up a defensive position to protect our unimpeachable achievements of the past 40 years? I hope no journalist takes this to mean that I am attached to these years.

The doors to party publications stand open. Let anyone who wants to do so present these publications with articles that defend everything that is left over after all our uncertainty and vacillation have been removed. Leaving those aside, it is certain that Poland's history will provide a positive assessment of everything we have done.

I will be honest and say that I am probably not the only one who would be happy to read in TRYBUNA LUDU or anywhere else that such and such a political platform has sharply protested the attacks on cadres and party organizations inside work places. I am firmly opposed to

attacks against the undeniable achievements of working people that I have just mentioned. This kind of activity should be treated no less seriously than the search for a new model for the party. Perhaps these are impudent demands which ought not to be expressed in this hall. But I am trying to keep my feet on the ground.

From the party's point of view, reality is harsh. It will be even harsher, because one must expect a concentrated attack by the Polish right wing against the "Reds" and "Commies." This has to be taken into consideration.

Debates and disputes about the future face of the party should also consider the fact that the basis of this left wing party must consist of working people, primarily the workers class. In this context, I would like to draw the Central Committee's attention to the present government's plan to make fundamental changes to ownership. This is a very serious business, of a political and national nature. It is not just the party that should speak out clearly on this subject, which we will do, but also society, which has created and is still creating the national wealth.

Finally, comrades, an historical-philosophical thought: I think that ever since the unification of the Polish Workers Party and Polish Socialist Party, no Central Committee or party leadership has been in such a dramatic situation as we. There are two ways out—we will go down in history either as the eliminators of not only the PZPR, but also of the entire left wing as an influential social force capable of transforming the world and the conditions we live in, or as the creators of a new left wing party that refers in a creative way to the valuable components of Polish and European socialist thinking.

That is the basic dilemma we are facing. I do not think anyone is indifferent to the way in which history assesses us. I hope we all go down in this history as conscious creators of a new party of the left, a party of democratic socialism. We are going to be taking an examination on that. Will we pass? The world will know in a few months time.

PZPR Organizations' Subsidies Publicized

AU1311100489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Nov 89 p 3

[Maciej Lukasiewicz article: "Additional Information—A Tangled Muddle"]

[Text] In TRYBUNA LUDU (number 259), Stanislaw Stawicz, an editor, quite clearly aggrieved at Malgorzata Niezabitowska, the government press spokesperson, and Minister Aleksander Hall—not so much because they disclosed the enormous sums that went to maintain the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], (according to him, the PZPR deserved these sums), but more for their announcement that from the beginning of 1990 this source of gold will be turned off—has produced a rather neat article entitled "Who Can Take What from Whom?" Because of the article—if I may be permitted to make a small diversion—we caught a glimpse of a secret skeleton that fell out of the TRYBUNA LUDU cupboard. We were informed that TRYBUNA LUDU had with great outrage rejected the proposal made by PAP (a government agency) that TRYBUNA LUDU pay a 6 percent commission from it's monthly income for the use of PAP press items. We would respectfully like it to be known that RZECZPOSPOLITA (a government organ) has been paying 7.5 percent for PAP items for a long time now and, instead of wasting its time on futile weeping, it has drawn the appropriate economic lessons.

But to return to the article. From it, it transpires that one can continue to draw profusely from a constantly impoverished state budget for 45 years (how many times did we have to tighten our belts in order to reach the communist promised land?) without bothering to ask society's permission. However, we are told, it is forbidden to "soil our hands" taking money from our foreign confraternity, as Stawicz elegantly puts it—having in mind the former grant of $1 million for "Solidarity" from the U.S. Congress, which, as everyone knows was subsequently donated to the health service.

In the meantime, according to Stawicz, this "dirty" money was to be used to "paralyze (in a democratic way, of course) and topple the ruling authority"—which, let us be thankful, proved completely successful, and that is why today we do not have Rakowski's but Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government—which, purportedly, continues to be fully subsidized by the CIA, the EEC, and the AFL-CIO, plus all the other agencies of world imperialism (are Ministers Kisz czak and Siwicki also getting their cut?).

One would have thought that certain times and journalistic practices now belonged to a closed and bygone age. An age that one could only hanker after. But, ladies and gentlemen, it appears not to be so....

Editor Stawicz asks Minister Niezabitowska how her government would react if "in general, and in the above context, in particular" another force were to attempt to institute such impure practices? What can he have in mind? Could it be the PZPR, which will find itself financially impoverished from 1 January 1990? Can he be thinking about another impecunious party of "the true left" which may rise from the rubble of the PZPR, next January?

Minister Niezabitowska's eventual reply will be interesting. No doubt she will say: "Of course, take all you want, but be sure that you leave me enough for all our other compatriots...."

As we are on the subject of material resources, here is some more information on the subject of state budget 1989 subsidies for the various institutions and "bodies"

which should give us all a moment of social reflection (at times, positive) on the desirability and the amounts of these financial subsidies (the figures have been rounded up):

—Through the Sejm Office, for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (Z2,300 million); for the National Peace Committee (Z231.5 million); for "Wisla-Odra" Association (Z198.5 million); and for the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship (Z1,000 million);

—Through the Ministry of Finance, for the National Defense League (Z1,500 million); for the Polish People's Republic's Aeroclub (Z4,900 million);

—Through the Office of the President, for the Trade Union Study Center (Z932.5 million). As a comparison, the Social Committee for the Preservation of Krakow's Monuments only receives Z40 million from the same source.

—Through the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for the Nationalist Society (Z210 million) (it is the source of the finance rather than the amount which is surprising here);

—Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for the "Polonia" Society (Z1,332 million); for the Society of Friends of the UN (Z10.2 million); and for the Palestine Liberation Organization (Z21 million (how much does their bureau in Warsaw cost?).

—Through the Ministry of National Education, for the Polish Scout Union (Z1,120 million); for the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture (Z391 million); for the Polish University Students Association (Z1,275 million), and, Z413 million for other organizations, which is quite interesting.

I will not repeat the PZPR, Democratic Party, and the United Peasant Party subsidies, these figures—which so infuriated Editor Stawicz—were given last Friday by Ministers Hall and Dabrowski. When commenting them on Monday we asked the question: "Is this the full extent of the cost we are paying for the communist party?" To answer this we must study the above figures carefully. We could also throw in the costs of the "formation of the young cadres," and here they are: for the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (Z8,993 million); for the Rural Youth Union (Z2153 million); and for the Young Scientists Competition (Z202 million). But what about the formation of the "old cadres"? The answer is: for the Academy of Social Sciences (Z1,095 million). What about the "formation of womens cadres"—the Womens League.... and so on?

Ladies and Gentlemmen, socialism is truly a good thing.

We wish you pleasant reading and ask you for further in formation on this topic.

PZPR's Kiszczak Discusses Work of Militia

LD1211143289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 12 Nov 89

[From the press review]

[Text] PANORAMA carries an interview with Czeslaw Kiszczak, deputy premier and minister of internal affairs.

PANORAMA asks: As deputy premier, you are responsible for a certain area of issues associated with adherance to the law and constitutional order. What makes you uneasy? What demands the fastest regulation? What would you like to change?

Czeslaw Kiszczak responds: I am made uneasy by certain tendencies in the area of criminal transgression. Crimes against property are growing and the effectiveness of its counteraction is falling. The threat to the property of inhabitants in the great metropolises is growing. Against the background of economic shortages and crisis phenomena in sociopolitical life, the authority of the law continues to fall.

The level of social discipline is falling. In addition, the continuing bad atmosphere around the Militia is worsening the conditions for the fulfilment of its professional tasks. Thus, criticism addressed at the Citizens' Militia is growing. This creates a vicious circle. The situation in this respect is significantly worse in almost all the Western states, but this is scant reassurance for us. We desire to do everything so that things become calmer and more secure in our country.

I am aware that many crime-inducing factors have an objective character, that they are results of a bad economic situation, a disorganized market, the difficulties and brutalization of everyday life, in addition to the stratification of wealth in our country; which is (?conducive) to criminals and which continues to grow. The Militia, of course, will not limit or liquidate these causes. However, I feel that it is necessary to make every effort and use all accessible methods that are in accordance with the law so as to immediately limit crime and the threats flowing therefrom.

Society cannot, in the expectation of better times, surrender to crime, demoralization, and tendencies toward the transgression of and contempt for the law. Evil will not vanish by a miracle, states Czeslaw Kiszczak in an interview for PANORAMA.

Peasant Parties Hold Congress, Discuss New Party

LD1211175789 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—A congress of the Polish Peasants' Party PSL and Polish Peasants' Party PSL "Solidarnosc" was held at the God's Mercy Church here on November 11, 1989, spokesman for the Congress

Committee of the Federation of Peasant Parties PSL and PSL "Solidarnosc" Wienczyslaw Nowacki told PAP.

The congress was attended by representatives of local circles of various regions of Poland. During the debate draft ideological declaration, programmatic guidelines and statutes were presented for discussion. The congress unanimously spoke in favour of a free cooperation between the circles and organisations of the PSL and PSL "Solidarnosc", accepted the form of a federation of both parties and fixed the date of the next congress for December 8, 1989.

The congress adopted a resolution on the federation of Peasant Parties PSL and PSL "Solidarnosc" which reads in part:

"The parties aim at changing the political system, economic system and social relations (in Poland) through taking over local and commune bodies of state authority. The parties will strive at that goal by way of introducing their representatives to local authorities in the elections to the local self-governments."

Meanwhile, spokesman for the provisional national committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers "Solidarnosc" RI Jacek Szymanderski sent PAP a statement which said:

"On Saturday, November 11, 1989 two congresses of the PSL were held. Neither of them was a congress of the PSL "Solidarnosc"—a party being organised on the basis of the individual farmers' "Solidarnosc" which is supported by the national committes of our union. The party being created by us is in a stage of organization and will hold its congress later."

Foundations for Center-Right Party Laid

LD0711193989 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 7—Sejm deputies of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, activists of citizen's committees, economic and industrial societies and members of a number of clubs, associations and political groups set up a founding team of the Movement of Polish Policy to lay down the foundations for a future political party with a broad centre-right orientation.

An outline of the movement's programmatic platform, conveyed to PAP, says that it will strive to achieve a natural synthesis linking ideological and political currents similar to each other.

We want to take special steps to foster the development of the middle class, which is a factor stabilizing the state and promoting the building of lasting democratic order, says the outline of the programmatic platform, stressing that the fundamental system of Christian values is the basis of convictions. At the same time, we derive ideas from the attainments of liberal, conservative and national thought, perceiving valuable elements in each of these currents of tradition to build modern political programme.

Our goal is to consistently build market economy based on private property. We see in this not only the source of economically efficient solutions but also a guarantee of the freedom of an individual and independence of various social associations.

We attach special importance to the protection of family, deeming it a lasting and the most important link of social and national community. We deem it necessary also to take care of the weakest individuals and groups, which stems from our understanding of the idea of solidarity.

Dascalescu Greets GDR Premier on Election

AU1411224989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/11/1989—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu has sent to Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, a telegram of congratulations on his election to the office, expressing full confidence that the two countries' governments would ever more closely work in future as well for the development and deepening of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the GDR, in the interests of the two peoples, of socialism and peace.

Krenz Sends Message of Thanks to Ceausescu

AU1311135189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Nov 89 p 6

[Cable of thanks from Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu: I want to express warm thanks for the greetings and congratulations conveyed on my election as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Permit me to also express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation at all levels between our parties and states, based on common interests and goals, will fruitfully develop and intensify in the future for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace and socialism.

I want to take this opportunity to wish you, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, great success in your responsible activity, good health, and personal happiness.

Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Ceausescu Sends Message to Turkish President

AU1511111389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Nov 89 p 5

[Congratulatory message from the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Turkish President Turgut Ozal on investiture]

[Text] To Mr Turgut Ozal, president of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara

Your investiture to the high office of president of the Republic of Turkey gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you cordial greetings and best wishes for good health and happiness, as well as complete success in your activity; I also convey wishes for prosperity and peace to the friendly Turkish people.

Also on this occasion, I express my belief that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Turkey will also continue to develop fruitfully in all areas in the future, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of understanding, cooperation, and peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Speech to Bucharest RCP Committee

AU0911201489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 9 Oct 89

["Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Conference of the Bucharest City Organization of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/11/1989—Taking the floor on November 9 during the report and elections conference of the Bucharest City Organization of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, showed that party organizations, conferences and the conference of the Bucharest City Party Organization had discussed at length the documents for the Fourteenth Party Congress, that the discussions held in enterprises, institutions and residential areas throughout the country had been participated in by all working people, by the entire people. Therefore, the speaker said, one may say that the documents that have been unanimously endorsed today by the conference express the unanimity of the Communists, of all Bucharest residents, who all agree to the long-term programmes that provide for Romania's advance onto further summits of progress and civilization.

The RCP general secretary further referred to the deep-going changes wrought and to the achievements scored in the Romanian capital city in the years of socialism. The speaker showed that fixed assets in Bucharest were worth more than 450 billion lei, which compares with only 83 billion lei in 1965, while industrial production at year's end would stand at over 200 billion lei, as against the almost 29 billion of 1965 and the only several billion of 1945. The roughly-seven-time growth of fixed assets and of industrial production in 24 years, Nicolae Ceausescu said, proved the Romanian state's special efforts to implement the policy aimed at developing the forces of production and the whole people's property, which I want to emphasize since, as a rule, we speak about state property. In fact, the state is not an owner; the state administers, on behalf of the whole people. The true owner of our entire industry, of everything that is being achieved in our country is the people as a whole, the speaker said.

Pointing out that from 1965 to the end of the ongoing year almost 560,000 flats had been built in Bucharest

adding to which will be others, the next year, that will put the total number of flats at 600,000 at the end of the quinquennium Nicolae Ceausescu said that in 25 years alone 90 per cent or so of Bucharest residents would live in new flats. He also pointed out that no other capital had known such a fast housing construction pace.

Referring to the long-term development of Bucharest, the speaker showed that as early as 1995 the capital's industry while maintaining its 13-14-per cent share in the all-country industrial production would have to turn out a production of at least 350-360 billion lei, in conditions in which production and material spending would decline.

In that context, the speaker stressed that a lot was still to be done for a better organization and for a higher capitalization of means, of raw and subsidiary materials and of manpower in particular, adding that the problems related to intensive-type development called for the implementation of the programmes for the scientific organization and modernization of the entire production activity, on the basis of the latest gains in science and technology in all areas.

The RCP and Romanian state leader criticized the management boards of a number of ministries for the bureaucratic way in which they solve various problems related to economic and social development and requested the state apparatus, which should do away with the attitude of putting things off, to work in a revolutionary spirit to solve all problems in time.

Nicolae Ceausescu requested that greater attention should be paid to the problems related to productivity, the rise in economic efficiency and profitability in all areas, the unswerving application of the principles of self-management and self-administration. Referring to the measures taken for a fine supply of the population in the capital city, the speaker criticized the uncorresponding way in which the important means available were administered and demanded an undelayed end to the negative states of affairs.

In his speech, Nicolae Ceausescu insisted on the need to broadly develop the forms of revolutionary worker democracy, the broad democratic framework achieved in Romania, which provides for the participation of all segments of working people in running all areas of activity. The speaker requested that the working people's general meetings, the management boards of all units should democratically fulfill their role in administering a substantial part of the whole nation's property. He underscored the need to improve the activity of the people's councils and of the civic commissions under them. At the same time, Nicolae Ceausescu requested the capital's RCP organization to better fulfill its role in all fields of activity. Nicolae Ceausescu also referred to the tasks incumbent on all mass and public organizations, the Union of Communist Youth, the trade unions, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, the creative units, pointing out that each of them should take part in the resolution of the various problems posed by life, according to their role and to their specific. [Sentence as received]

Stressing that Romania had created a broad democratic framework in which each segment, each socioeconomic unit could and had to take active part in debating problems, in making decisions and in implementing the home and foreign policy of the state, in socialist construction, in defending peace and in strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that to virtually represent true revolutionary worker democracy, which cannot be compared to any other forms of bourgeois democracy.

Ceausescu Addresses Grivita Rosie Workers

AU1311132789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Nov 89 p 3

[President Nicolae Ceausescu's Address at Grivita Rosie enterprise in Bucharest on 8 November]

[Text] I have noted with great satisfaction that, since my last visit, progress has been made in terms of product quality and of modernizing them. However, at the same time, I have noted that there are still many things to be done. Through more careful and persistent concern, particular results can be achieved in a short time, in terms of both productivity and product quality.

Grivita Rosie enterprise has to honor its obligations stipulated by law, namely to grant technical assistance in the assembly of the equipment it manufactures and to ensure its proper operation. Beginning as of now, the enterprise has to work to commendably fulfill its duties, so that the equipment delivered both within our country and abroad operates under the best of conditions. You are capable of doing this, you are a highly qualified working people's collective, and you are able to become a highly technical and one of the best enterprises in Europe.

I want to congratulate you for all your achievements and I wish you the best of results in all areas, together with much good health and happiness!

Opening of GDR Border Deemed 'Positive Step'

AU1411120789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Belgrade: Opening of the German Border—a Positive Step"]

[Text] The decision of the GDR Government to open its borders so that its citizens can travel represents a positive step toward removing administrative barriers, and we welcome it as a contribution to creating an atmosphere of openness and confidence in Europe, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has announced. It is said in the announcement that "Yugoslavia has always advocated the free circulation of ideas in Europe and beyond, so we assess this decision of the Berlin government as being a step forward in overcoming limitations and the remains of the cold war."

Radio Comments on Deng Xiaoping's Resignation

AU0911214389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Here is a commentary of a report we received from news agencies this evening which says that Deng Xiaoping has withdrawn from all political functions in China, although it is still uncertain whether he renounced all his influence. We have learned that this decision was welcomed at the fifth plenum of the Chinese party with enthusiasm, as a sign that a post for life has been abolished in this, the world's biggest country. On this occasion we invited to the studio our colleague Milorad Denda, who was our correspondent from Beijing for several years. Colleague Denda, how would you comment on this piece of news?

[Denda] It is sudden and attracts attention, but the very way Deng Xiaoping has left this—one could say the key Chinese function, the post of the supreme commander of the Army—by resigning, is now less interesting than the many questions raised by this resignation. As early as 1981, when Chinese reforms were in full swing, the real creator of these reforms, Deng—albeit never formally featured in the top of the state and party power—in a talk with Yugoslav journalists, expressed his desire to withdraw from daily operational jobs which were then taken over by Hu Yaobang in the party and Zhao Ziyang in the government, and said that the burden of the work should be taken over by younger people.

In the meantime, both these main associates of Deng's were swept away from the political scene by the wave of internal conflicts and divisions, and Hu Yaobang was swept away from life. At the 1982 party congress, Deng created an advisory commission whereby he tried to withdraw the group of old revolutionaries from daily political decisionmaking, and at 13th congress 2 years ago, he left the Central Committee too, having only kept the post of the chairman of the party and state Military Commission. The idea was to withdraw the old generations gradually and thereby create room for younger people who should take over reformist moves that had begun.

However, Deng had never ceased to be the top Chinese authority. Therefore, it is hard to believe that by leaving the key post now, Deng's decisive presence in making important decisions will also stop, at least for a foreseeable time. There is no doubt that his old age—Deng is 86—was an important factor in making this decision, but it still cannot completely explain the decision. Many ideas, plans, and intentions, Chinese reforms and prestige, the search for democratic solutions to complex internal contradictions have suffered a severe blow when the army crushed the student movement and a general people's discontent in Beijing in June, something that is officially called in Beijing, the Crushing Counterrevolutionary Rebellion. It was immediately clear that the decision on this intervention must have been made by Deng himself.

The strong conflict in the Chinese leadership between reformist forces and the conservative wing has always been considered by observers to be an open struggle for power in a post-Deng China. In a situation which is far from favorable for China—international condemnation of this summer's events and a general stagnation—Deng's withdrawal is meant to create an impression that the situation in the country is settled. On the other hand, bearing the stigma of having approved the bloody showdown in Beijing streets, Deng himself and the old generation would hardly be able to present authoritatively any Chinese reformist moves to the world. These two facts have probably been considered when assessing the possible full effect of Deng's move.

Secretary Loncar Speaks on Cooperation With EC

LD1011040989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2350 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's joining in the world integration processes must be a priority of its external policy, Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said today.

Speaking at the Federal Social Council for International Relations, Loncar particularly emphasized Yugoslavia's wish to join in the integration processes in Western Europe. Although the EC will not be admitting new members at present, Loncar said, it will nevertheless need new markets and new partners. For this reason, Yugoslavia must persevere in its economic and political reforms, in order that it might count on financial assistance from the EC countries and on joint ventures with them.

Loncar recalled that work is under way in the EC on drafting 30 international legal convention and urged that Yugoslavia find its place in the European legal space.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary said that the world integration processes would continue and that the question of development and the debt crisis of the underdeveloped would remain among the biggest global problems. He believes that budget deficits and internal debts will combine to bring about a reduction of military potentials.

Divisions and confrontations are giving way to understanding and tolerance. The ever more pronounced market orientation of the economy and pluralism in politics are gaining ground in world trends and this, in turn, is conducive to a further democratization of international relations, Loncar assessed.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary maintains that internal trends in Yugoslavia are at odds with the trends on the international scene. The problem of Kosovo, where Albanian separatists movement is active for the provinces secession from Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania, is putting to the test the countrys unity, the success of its reforms and democratization, and must therefore have priority in Yugoslavia's foreign political activity, Loncar said.

He stressed that Yugoslavia must not lag behind the general world trends, and urged its linkage with progressive international economic groupings and its active role in the movement of non-alignment, which it is chairing.

Macedonian Official Calls on Emigrants To Help

LD1211182389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Perth, November 12 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic Macedonia Jezdimir Bogdanski today called on Macedonian emigrants in Australia to join in the economic life of Yugoslavia as soon as possible, together with Austrial businessmen, and take advantage of the broad legal possibilities which have been opened by the economic reform.

Opening the Macedonian Cultural Center in Perth, Bogdanski said that Yugoslavia, regardless of the severity of the current crisis, has the strength to win.

Yugoslavia and Macedonia will most sharply counter all appearances of nationalism in the country, and also all attacks by some hegemonist circles outside Yugoslavia on the Macedonian national identity. He added that all attempts to negate the Macedonian national identity and attack the integrity and sovereignty of the free Macedonian state will be prevented most energetically.

Bogdanski underlined that Macedonia was a historical fact and a sovereign and legitimate national state of the Macedonian people. Therefore, he added, all attempts to negate the national rights of Macedonians in neighbouring countries are anachronous.

Yugoslavia and Macedonia will fight for the rights of its people in neighbouring countries—Bulgaria, Greece and Albania—within the existing framework of international norms and principles.

Milosevic Receives Low Percentage of Kosovo Votes

AU1411203089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpts] According to still incomplete results, Slobodan Milosevic, candidate for the post of president of the Presidency of Serbia, received a convincing majority of votes in the referendum of citizens throughout Serbia. [passage omitted]

Milosevic received the most support in Serbia and Vojvodina, while the results in Kosovo show that all four candidates have received approximately the same number of votes. In Serbia, Milosevic received 92 percent of the votes, in Vojvodina 73.9 percent of the ballots cast, and in Kosovo 20.96 percent.

Further on MLADINA Hoax on Milosevic Death

AU1411231189

[Editorial report] Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene on 10 November on page 48 carries at the top of the page a one-third-page mock death certificate for Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. On the bottom half of the page are two pictures, one of a hand firing a pistol at Milosevic's head from close range and Milosevic convulsively raising both of his arms, and the other purporting to show Milosevic's body lying in a coffin.

The death certificate, a copy of an official form with Milosevic's particulars typed in, says that Slobodan Milosevic, born on 20 August 1941 in Pozarevac, Socialist Republic of Serbia, occupation president and lawyer, married, of 14 Marshal Tito Street, commune of New Belgrade, 11000 Belgrade, living in a two-room apartment, driving a Zastava 101 car, died on 29 November 1989 at 1930.

Two more forms, located below the death certificate and above the two photos and filled in by hand, are on the page. The first is a "Medical Report on the Cause of Death," which gives the same particulars as the death certificate, except that the time of Milosevic's death is entered as 1925, and the place of his death is in "MLADINA, Ljubljana." The direct cause of death is listed as "suicide," the contributory cause as "he was a Serb," and the underlying illness as "diabetes." The second form is a card, like one that a hospital outpatients' department might keep, registering Milosevic as a diabetic.

At the very bottom of the page, below the forms and the pictures, is an advertisement which says:

"The basic kit for Slobodan Milosevic's death contains medical documents about the cause of death, photographs, and instructions." The price is given in MLADINA's fictitious currency, lipa: "only 10 lipas" plus postage, including extra payment for orders coming from outside Slovenia and from Kosovo. The surname "Standeker" at the bottom may be the name of the author.

The Milosevic display is carried on the last page before the magazine's inside cover. This page is regularly used by MLADINA for spoofs and not so gentle hoaxes.

Serbian League Central Committee Session

LD1311194189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The elections in the Serbian League of Communists represent, despite certain constitutional and legal limitations, a big step forward in the democratization of the political system and political life. By these elections, we in Serbia are outlining clearly the route we are following towards the creation of conditions whereby formal democracy is to be replaced by a real one.

This is what Milenko Petrovic, the executive secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, stressed in his introductory address at today's session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee. Today the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee is discussing the electoral activities so far in this republic's League of Communists. [passage omitted]

People are not willing to acknowledge the fact that the truth about Kosovo reaches U.S. Congressmen more easily than some political bodies and individuals in Slovenia and Croatia, Milenko Petrovic said. He maintains that it is, however, clear to everyone that this is not a matter of not knowing the facts, but rather of taking advantage of the Kosovo problem to win one's own separatist and nationalist aims, something that no longer can be disguised by, as he put it, any sort of faked humanitarian slogans.

The support for, and the fuelling of, separatism and even terrorism in Kosovo today, assumes a clear anti-Yugoslav character and produces anti-Yugoslav effects—Petrovic said, as he added that in spite of this unscrupulous support the Albanian separatists and mercenaries were left without any mass support from the people. [passage omitted]

Explaining the proposals of the candidates for members of the organs of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], on whom the Central Committee members are also deciding today, Petrovic stressed that as early as the initial nominations over 2000 candiates had been registered; thus more candidates had ended up on the list of proposed candiates that those who are to be elected; 216 candidates are proposed for the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee while the 11th congress of the Serbian League of Communists will elect 157 of them, and 24 candidates from the Serbian League of Communists are proposed for the LCY Central Committee. The LCY Central Committee 14th congres ought to elect 15 members. [passage omitted]

Finally, Petrovic spoke in detail about the reasons that had led the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium to put forward unanimously candidates Bogdan Trifunovic, he already occupies this post, and Tomica Raicevic, deputy chairman of the management board of the Bor Mining and Smelting Combine, for the President of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, and Milomir Minic, the present secretary of this organ, and Vlajko Perkovic, member of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, for the post of secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG take 6 not received] [passage omitted]

The following are the candidates for members of the LCY Central Committee from the Serbian League of Communists: Dusan Ilic, Milica Jankovic, Slobodan Jovanovic, Miodrag Lazarevic, Slobodanka Loncarevic, Petar Lucic, Dragoljub Milicevic, Borivoje Milovanovic, Momcilo Milovanovic, Mihajlo Milojevic, Srecko Nikolic, Bozidar Petrovic, Sinisa Petrovic, Vidoje Pjevcic, Petar Radakovic, Tomislav Radovic, Ilija Rosic, Rados Smiljkovic, Gradimir Stefanovic, Vlajko Stojilkovic, Zivojin Stepic and Petar Skundric.

The proposal for the introduction of the post of president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee was then endorsed, as well as the proposal that Bogdan Trifunovic and Tomica Raicevic, be the candidates for president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and Milomir Minic and Vlajko Petkovic for the secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium.

Radmila Andjelkovic, Borisav Radovic, Vladimir Stambuk, Mileva Banjeglav and Borisav Stankovic were elected through a secret vote as delegates of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee to the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference.

Police Not Involved in Stari Trg Incidents

LD0911211689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Tomaz Ertl, republican secretary for internal affairs, stated today that the information, according to which Slovene policemen had not cooperated in the action of chasing the miners out of the Stari Trg mine, was true. The Slovene public is familiar with the attitude of Slovene police toward strikers. Therefore the report by our inspector, who is stationed in the headquarters of the Militia Combined

Unit in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to the effect that the Slovene militiamen were ordered to enter the mine in order to drive the miners out, was an understandable reaction in keeping with the instructions that Slovene militiamen in Kosovo should act in the same way as in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

On having received the report from the SAP of Kosovo, I ordered the republican inspector of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs to immediately inform our inspector at the headquarters of the Militia Combined Unit that I did not allow the Slovene militiamen to enter the mine. We have never trained Slovene policemen for actions against people in mine shafts, so it was impossible to predict the consequences of such an undertaking.

We in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs have no knowledge of any case of police taking action against miners in a mine. Apart from that, such an undertaking would have meant that the Slovene policemen would have acted in the SAP of Kosovo in a different way than in the SR of Slovenia.

We in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Slovenia have never objected to the Militia Combined Unit Headquarters' decisions on preserving public peace and order, and social and private property. In this case we assessed that the task was beyond the expertise of the Slovene policemen and agreed with the Militia Combined Unit's presence in the SAP of Kosovo.

Therefore, the press articles which ascribe arbitrariness to our inspector are not correct. The inspector, as well as the militiamen of the Special Unit from the SR of Slovenia, acted conscientiously in keeping with my instructions on this specific case, Tomas Erti says in his statement to the public.

Further on Slovene Kosovo Militia Policy

LD1011042789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The Slovene Executive Council maintains that all necessary measures should be taken to avoid the need for the Slovene militia to go to Kosovo. At present it cannot, however, withdrew the Slovene militiamen from the province since by doing so it would infringe on the law that provides the basis for their engagement in Kosovo within the framework of the Combined Militia Unit, which comprises militia units from all the republics and Vojvodina.

The Executive Council will propose to this republic's assembly to discuss the situation in Kosovo comprehensively—it is said in the statement from yesterday's session that was sent to the media today—since the policy so far in this area obviously has not produced results. The Slovene Executive Council adopted this stance at its session yesterday evening in response to the proposal at the Executive Board of the Presidium of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People Republic Conference that a procedure for withdrawing Slovene police be set in motion.

Units of Slove police, the statement resumes, are going to Kosovo following the SFRY Presidency' decision. The SFRY Presidency adopted this decision on the basis of the Law on the Bases of Systems of State Security. On these grounds, the federal secretary for internal affairs issues an order each month for allocating crew to the units. The republican secretary for internal affairs sends a special militia unit from Slovenia on the basis of this conclusion of the SFRY Presidency. Without changing these provisions, neither the republican secretary for internal affairs of Slovenia nor its Executive Council cannot withdraw the policemen from Kosovo.

The republican Secretary for Internal Affairs, Tomas Ertl, said at the session that he was among those who most wanted to avoid sending Slovene policemen to Kosovo. Apart from that there are fewer militiamen from Slovenia in Kosovo than from the other republics. He also spoke in favor of accomplishing this in a legal way.

The president of the republican Executive Council, Dusan Sinigoj, drew yesterday's debate to a close by stressing that Kosovo was the major problem in Yugoslavia in general. However, the situation in the province is worse than it was a few years ago. Sinigoj maintains that what stems from it is the fact that the political assessments so far, which are the basis for action, were wrong. Repression was deployed rather than reason and political wisdom. Experience suggests that force cannot remove human discontent anywhere in the world, not even in Kosovo. To the advantage of everyone in Yugoslavia we ought to make as soon as possible an assessment of the international aspect of this issue, Sinigoj suggested.

The Slovene Executive Council adopted the following stances: it will demand that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] disclose the arguments (if any) that still justify the need for the deployment of militia units from the other republics in Kosovo. The FEC should reply as soon as possible, since the republican Executive Council will acquaint the Slovene Presidency and the republican Assembly with its stances and it will propose to the latter to discuss the resolution of the Kosovo situation as early as at its next session on 22 November.

DELO on Slovene Youth Congress Suggestions

AU1311111789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report:" "Congress of Suggestions and Amendments"]

[Text] Portoroz, 5 Nov—Apart from everything else that happened in the town of roses, the 13th Slovene Youth Congress will be remembered by the multitude of the proposed amendments and congress suggestions. It was

impossible to register all of them; we cite a few of those that were submitted to the delegates for adoption by the Commission for Stances and Suggestions:

We demand an unconditional and complete ban on reorganization in farming until the status of cooperative property is first settled and a law on cooperatives is adopted;

We oppose the adoption of a definitive decision about the construction of Trbovlje 3 Thermoelectric Power Station before a complete development and ecological improvement program for the Zasavje region;

The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should, as soon as possible, prepare and conduct a discussion on solving the problem of permanent storage of medium and light radioactive waste in Slovenia;

The ZSMS [Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia] advocates an expansion of the reception area for Radio Student and the establishment of an alternative radio and television network in Slovenia;

We advocate a normalization of the policy on drugs and the establishment of a special institution that will deal professionally with the problem of drug addiction;

The ZSMS advocates the establishment of video archives and a video documentation of Slovenia;

The Congress adopts the suggestion that a club, a special body within the ZSMS, should be set up for retired people and those about to retire, their problems, and the inclusion of this social group in political life;

Degrees gained in theological colleges should be equated with, and receive the same status and public recognition as the degrees gained at other colleges. We support the inclusion of the Faculties for Theology in Ljubljana and Maribor in the universities if the faculties so desire;

We advocate a democratization of mental health care;

With the latest constitutional amendments, the profession of faith is no longer confined to the private sphere. No constitutional restrictions on the activities of religious communities in the sphere of civilian society exist any longer. Therefore, the present law on the legal position of religious communities, which pushes these into a ghetto, has become a legal anachronism; it should be abolished and a new one should be written;

The Socialist Republic of Slovenia should be renamed Republic of Slovenia;

We demand that the responsible organs recall the Slovene militiamen from Kosovo;

Sexual preference should be listed among the cases for which discrimination is explicitly forbidden both in the Constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and of the SFRY;

The ZSMS will strive that an independent commission be set up in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and that funds should be provided for a study of the fields and the consequences of the militarization of Slovenia;

We propose that Yugoslavia establish diplomatic relations with Israel and the ROK;

The certificate on the release from the Yugoslav citizenship, which is frequently a condition for acquiring other citizenship, should not cause the loss of the Yugoslav citizenship;

The delegates to the assemblies of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the SFRY should in the future (after the 1990 elections) perform their functions full time;

A law should be adopted enabling the citizens of Europe to cross our borders by showing their identity cards;

In the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the ZSMS will make the suggestion that funds be provided for a research project to offer the necessary professional foundation for a thorough revision of criminal legislation;

In cooperation with interested organizations, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should organize a world Slovene congress in Ljubljana. In this connection we demand the abolition of the term "hostile emigrants." The republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs should publish a list of the Slovenes who are forbidden to enter Slovenia, and the reasons for this ban;

The ZSMS will, as a political organization, put up its candidates at all the elections in the Spring of 1990.

A Commission for Minority Problems should be set up with the Republican Conference of the ZSMS, whose pogrammatic starting point should be the preservation and development of the national originality of the several minorities and which would play the role of offering professional and substantial advice in forming the ZSMS minority policy;

The University should decide autonomously on the course of studies on all-people's defense and social self-protection.

There is also a long list of suggestions which the delegates did not accept at the proposal of the Commission for Stances and Suggestions. These include the suggestions that the ZSMS should support the Albanian people in their demands for a republic (the explanation was that the Albanian people already have their republic, and regarding the Kosovo Albanians, the resolution on Yugoslav policy clearly says that to solve that problem, our political system should be normalized first); the suggestion that Slovene soldiers should serve at least a half of their term of service in Slovenia, of course if they want to (the suggestion was in a more radical form incorporated as an amendment to the resolution of the defense concept); or that the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of

Slovenia should initiate a check on the influence of modernization of the Kidricevo Alumina and Aluminum Plant on the environment.

BORBA on Slovene Alliances Present Programs

AU1311132389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Oct pp 1,4,5,6

[Momcilo Djorgovic, Veselin Simonovic, and Dragisa Draskovic report: "Who Will Be in Power: The Slovene Election Mystery"]

[Excerpts] With the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, free political organization is possible in that republic, and this includes parties. Considering that one of the innovations brought by these amendments is the introduction of free direct elections to all the assemblies, the basic, but not all, conditions have been fulfilled so that the next general elections in Slovenia, to be held in March next year, will really be the first free democratic elections in post-war Yugoslavia.

What remains to be done is to adopt a law on political organizations and the election law, for the drafting of which an assembly working group has been set up, reinforced with three representatives of the opposition. It has been expected that these bills will be proposed to the assembly by the Slovene roundtable, at which representatives of all political organizations were present, but this attempt has obviously failed. The greatest dispute between the alternative and the official policy concerns the manner of nominations and of election of delegates to the Sociopolitical Chamber of the republican assembly, which is to say the question of whether the delegates will be elected according to the majority principle (only the candidates that have obtained support in their electoral units reach the list of nominations) or according to the proportional principle (all citizens of Slovenia who are of age vote on the lists of candidates by all political organizations). Regardless of how this dilemma is resolved, the elections will certainly be the most democratic to date and probably all the political factions will participate in them. It may be said that the election campaign has started, and many alliances and present sociopolitical organizations are hurriedly preparing their congresses at which they will adopt their election programs, and some old alliances have transformed themselves into proper political parties, such as the Socialist Youth Federation and the Socialist Alliance of Working People. It is our intention to present in short with what programs and in which manner all the political organizations in Slovenia will appear at the elections next year.

Ivan Oman, President of the Peasant Alliance of Slovenia:

Peasants Are in Favor of a Grand Coalition

The first and inevitable question in perceiving the near political future imposes itself in connection with the discussion of the adoption of the election law, and before that in connection with the decision on the election principle for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the republican assembly. Like other members of the alternative groups, the Slovene Peasant Alliance—as Ivan Oman, its president, says—is exclusively in favor of the proportional election principle.

It has been proposed that the Chamber of Communes and the Chamber of Associated Labor should be elected on the majority principle, but true political pluralism can be achieved only through the proportional principle, Oman says. In the future, to implement their political will, citizens will associate in political organizations, but such associations will have no sense unless their final result is reflected in the parliament. Oman believes that this can be achieved through the proportional principle. In this way the relationship of forces or rather the political reality may be perceived, and this is a necessity of pluralism. [passage omitted]

At the moment, the Slovene Peasant Alliance has 25,000 members and in number of members it is the second political party in Slovenia.

"If we look at the alternative on one side and the League of Communists and organizations like it on the other, one should expect," he says, "that speaking in sporting terms, the result will indeed be close. For the communist party, I do not foresee such a failure as it was experienced in Poland at the elections. Considering Milan Kucan's popularity, it will be quite different in our case." [passage omitted]

If a coalition is inevitable, how will the Peasant Alliance behave and who will be closest to it? Oman believes that society is in too great a crisis to allow itself any great differences and quarrels, and therefore a grand coalition of all political groups is necessary. The elections should show the strength of the several groups, and here I imply the proportional system. Within this framework, one should negotiate, but at no time one should exclude a grand coalition of all.

Peter Jamnikar, the Greens of Slovenia:

Kucan Helped Them

The Greens advocate a proportional principle in elections to the Sociopolitical Chamber, for this is the only way that part of the alternative groups or the new political alliances could enter the Slovene assembly, Peter Jamnikar, a member of the leadership of the Greens of Slovenia says. One the other hand, it is only through the application of the proportional principle that a confrontation, or a reduction to two blocs—the party and the non-party—may be avoided.

With the proportional principle, everybody would get as much as is due to him according to the number of votes. The party [the League of Communists] is convinced, Jamnikar believes, that with the introduction of this principle, it would lose something in its starting position.

In his opinion, this would be a trifle considering that the party possesses an entire machinery and that two chambers will be elected according to the majority principle, while the proportional principle is the only way for the alternative groups to get into the parliament. On the other hand, looking at it generally, the Greens stand on the position that this is the only way to enter a pluralist social system. [passage omitted]

It is very difficult to predict how many voters will join the Green ticket and it means entering the sphere of speculation, but at present it is important for them to obtain a share of votes that will ensure their entering the Sociopolitical Chamber. It is illusory to expect a great election victory, and the most important thing for them is to participate in power and to exert influence in places where decisions are made on essential matters.

Asked what he will do if a coalition is necessary, Jamnikar replied that nobody among the alternative groups would be happy with it. In that case, a candidate would have to adjust several programs and cut parts of them. However, if necessary, he will think about it thoroughly. One thing is clear: He will be on the alternative and not on the Communist side, Peter Jamnikar said.

Lojze Peterle, Slovene Christian Social Movement:

The Alternative Will Win

The Slovene Christian Social Movement was set up in March and it has gathered 600 members, who are organized in the Maribor, Kranj, and Ljubljana committees, Lojze Peterle told us. He remarked that committees are about to be set up in Gorica, Koper, the Mura region, and the Dolenjska region. [passage omitted]

At the moment, the movement is preparing its congress and it is certain that it will get another name. At the same time, a broad program and an election program are being prepared, and both will be completed in less than 2 months. The congress will be held immediately after the adoption of the law on political associations. [passage omitted]

Peterle believes that thanks to its program, the movement has good chances at the elections, although it does not have many members. The results cannot be predicted in percentage figures, and the elections themselves will be abnormal to some extent. "At the elections, an historical opposition will finally appear, because the people will exploit the opportunity they have long not had, and it is expected that they will not give majority support to the present system. I am convinced that the alternative will win and that our organization will play an important part," Lojze Peterle says.

Dr Hubert Pozarnik, President of the Slovene Democratic Alliance:

It Will Be a Great Struggle

Apart from the Peasant Alliance, the Slovene Democratic Alliance was the first alternative political alliance organized in Slovenia. Hubert Pozarnik, president of this alliance, believes that it is perhaps the strongest in Slovenia, because it has organized committees in 25 places in Slovenia. Pozarnik also says that it is also perhaps the richest, because money comes from membership fees and other donations. It publishes its newspaper, DEMOKRACIJA, which is printed in 20,000 copies, of which as many as 15,000 are sold. The alliance has 3,000 members.

We asked Pozarnik how his alliance is preparing the program for the coming elections. "The struggle will certainly be strong and a strong opposition bloc will be set up which will not be as it is at present. Many of the alliances will consider which of the two blocs they should join, the official or the opposition bloc. It depends on the elections, or rather on the Law on Political Association and the Election Law, who will be in the two election blocs."

Hubert Pozarnik said that the program of Slovene "Democrats" was adopted at their first congress and will shortly be printed in 30,000 copies and quickly distributed. "I know that some people call us Intellectuals Alliance. We do not wish to be such. We wish to represent a wider section of people. If we are not able to achieve this by ourselves, we will do it in coalition with others, for instance the Peasant Alliance. We will, for instance, prepare programs for workers, youths, religious people, and so forth. We have put in the program that we are a Slovene, noncommunist, and modern alliance. [passage omitted]

[Question] Can you predict the results of the elections?

[Pozarnik] If equal opportunities existed for all the political alliances, it would be good that the opposition wins, and I think it will win. The essential thing is that something should change, and if the opposition wins 20 percent of the votes, this would be a great gain.

Dusan Semolic, Secretary of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia:

With a New Name and Membership

At the next elections, we wish to participate on an equal footing with other sociopolitical organizations. For the Socialist Alliance of Working People, these elections will be easier because the state will take over many of the jobs that the Alliance has been performing. However, they will also be more difficult, because the competition at the elections will be strong, and we must prepare our organization better. We will put the most capable candidates on our lists, people who enjoy respect in their communities, and we will not ask if they belong to any organization. This is the way Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, muses about the participation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People at the coming elections.

[Question] Does this presuppose a reorganization of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and issuing an election program?

[Semolic] We will adopt a program which will indicate specific tasks that can be implemented in 3 or 4 years. [passage omitted] Another aspect of the Socialist Alliance of Working People transformation is the strengthening of its independence. Primarily we want to attract individual members, which is contrary to the present way of organizing the Socialist Alliance of Working People. This of course is a great shift, and it means that with the members, we want to fix the political color of our own organization and give it its distinguishing mark. We will also print new membership cards. However, we do not intend to be transformed into a conventional party which expels its members if they belong to another organization.

[Question] Does this mean the Socialist Alliance of Working People will change its name?

[Semolic] We have proposed a change of the name, and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia should in the future be called the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia. We are not renouncing our socialist name, because it is our distinguishing mark. Even until now, the Socialist Alliance of Working People used to be called by the people the Socialist Alliance. [passage omitted]

[Question] What in fact will be the difference between the Socialist Alliance and the League of Communists?

[Semolic] The differences in the programs will be small, but there will be differences in the organization and the methods.

[Question] Does this mean that you will no longer be financed from the budget?

[Semolic] We will continue to be financed from the budget, because we have some assignments as defined in the Constitution. The membership fees collected have been left in the local communities, and this will continue.

[Question] Will not the alliances that are not financed from the budget and possess no own information media be in an unequal position at the elections?

[Semolic] It is understandable that an organization with a 40-year history has its advantages, but this also brings shortcomings. We will jointly have to find some solutions which will put all the political subjects on an equal footing, and this is our responsibility.

[Question] Will you enter into coalitions with others; and what is your prediction of the results?

[Semolic] We remain open, we allow the possibility of a coalition, but any coalition will be on a voluntary basis. It is certain that the election outcome will be uncertain. I nevertheless hope that considering the prestige that our organization enjoys, our list will get a rather extensive support.

Slavko Susec, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia:

We Count on the Workers

The Social Democratic Alliance has recently been busy with some internal disputes rather than with serious preparations for the elections. The chief conflict is between the members of the Presidency and the president of the alliance. Regarding the elections, Slavko Susec, member of the Presidium of the alliance, says that it is not yet certain whether they will participate in the elections, because many questions still remain open—one does not know what the laws, the election law and the law on political organizations, will be, and another question remains unresolved: it refers to the financial equality of all the alliances. The old alliances—the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, and the Trade Union Federation—have their funds assured and their advantage is already showing in the election campaign which has started. If these problems are resolved, we will participate in the elections, Susec says.

[Question] What election program are you preparing and what are its main elements?

[Susec] At the moment, we are setting up a program council, a group of experts who will work on the program, and it will be ready for the first congress of our organization, which is to say by next February. Our main strength lies among the workers, and therefore we will pay most attention to them, to the trade union organization of the workers (independent trade unions), but we will also pay attention to the other essential problem, social policy. This is an extremely essential element in the transitional period of economic reorganization. [passage omitted]

[Question] What is the dispute between the members of the Presidency and President Franc Tomsic?

[Susec] Three Presidium members have resigned. We have reestablished ourselves and we are a good team now. The Presidium members have several arguments against President Tomsic: He is incapable of team work, and there has been much criticism of his public statements.

[Question] How do you comment on the similarities with the League of Communists programs?

[Susec] The League of Communists works on the principle: What is good for the alternative, we will include in our program. All the good points that the alternative was advocating have now been accepted by the official policy as its own. This similarity of the rule by one party, we all want parliamentary democracy, a market economy, free

elections, and so forth. [sentence as published] We all want this, and the differences will show only after all this is accomplished.

[Question] How do you predict the possible election results?

[Susec] If the conditions are met, we will participate in the elections, but the result is difficult to predict.

Slavko Ozbalt, Member of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Alliance:

We Are Only Learning About Elections

Because it has by far the lowest number of members or for some other reason, the Yugoslav Alliance has not been called to roundtable meetings, which we would gladly attend, Slavko Ozbalt, member of the Presidium of the only alternative organization in Slovenia that carries the adjective Yugoslav in its title, stressed. Anyhow, uncertainty will prevail until the end and even at the elections, Ozbalt thinks. The situation may be described with a simple sentence: What will be, will be.

One should not forget, Ozbalt stresses, that many voters will find it difficult to sort things out and there will be confusion, so that one could talk about proper elections only on the second or third occasion subsequently. The Yugoslav Alliance admits unabashed, at least it seems so at present, that it counts predominantly on the votes of other nationalities but also of those Slovenes who think more profoundly and who know that nothing happens in a day and that everything has a continuity. [passage omitted]

Joze Skolc, President of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia:

The Socialist Youth Federation Will Be a Party or Nothing

Under conditions when freedom of political organization and direct elections have been assured, the model which MLADINA called "the model of the parties of socialist self-management" is falling apart. The Socialist Youth Federation was one of those alliances that strove most for open political pluralism, and we renounced in advance the monopoly that we have had and we decided for a real competition to see how much we are really worth. [passage omitted]

[Question] Will the Socialist Youth Federation turn into a conventional party?

[Skolc] Even at our conference in February we demanded that we should turn into a party, but our old partners were against it. The constitutional amendments now make it possible and at the congress we will prepare ourselves in such a way that the Youth Federation can be organized as a party or as a social organization, depending on the election law and the law on political organizations.

[Question] A clash has broken out in this field between the University Conference and the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation.

[Skolc] The Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia has always been open and organized in a pluralistic way, so that we always have some clashes. The great advantage is that we have always had clashes from which something good has emerged. [passage omitted]

[Question] Many people speak about two blocs, the bloc of the socialist forces and the right bloc. Do you count yourselves among the socialist forces?

[Skolc] It is difficult to say, because the question is what the term, socialist, means. One talks about the socialist forces, but one says that this now is not a socialism suitable for man. The fact is, however, that parties with this name have a large number of voters in Europe.

[Question] Will the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia change its name?

[Skolc] We are still the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, but we also carry the addition, "For the Freedom of the Thinking World."

[Question] How do you predict the result of the elections?

[Skolc] It is impossible to make predictions because one does not even know what sort of elections will be held nor who will run.

Peter Bekes, Member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia:

To Risk Democracy

[passage omitted] [Question] Whose interests does the League of Communists of Slovenia represent?

[Bekes] A restructuring of the workers class is taking place. Modern technological processes do not allow homogeneous classes. We no longer represent merely the classic workers class, but we represent all creative groups. All the communist parties in Europe, with the exception of the Italian, have failed this test.

[Question] Does the League of Communists of Slovenia nevertheless play the card of nationalism?

[Bekes] One should take into account that nations are deeply rooted creations which must be taken into account. One should not overestimate the national component because this leads to nationalism, but it should also not be considered a marginal issue. [passage omitted]

[Question] What program are you preparing for the elections?

[Bekes] The program with which we will run in the elections will have a clearly pronounced Yugoslav option

in the sense of building Yugoslavia as a modern federation. The program will also have a strong social and ecological strain, as well as contain the emancipation of youths and women. We will adopt it at the congress and we will submit it to the federal party congress as an option for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

[Question] What are the program "trump cards" with which the Party intends to win votes?

[Bekes] I will only list the subheads from the program which show our views with sufficient clarity: From a One-Party Into a Pluralist Society; There Are No Final Solutions to the National Question; For a Modern Efficient Federation; For an Asymmetric Federation; For Constitutionality, the Rule of Law, and Honest Elections; A Single Chamber Republican Assembly; Strengthening the Assembly and the Government; For the Independence of the Trade Unions; The Protection of Human Rights and Trials on the Principle of Justice; Against Verbal Offenses and Death Sentence; Creating Opportunities for Human Initiative; Socialism Means a Wealth of the Forms of Production; For a Market but Also for a Socially and Economically Responsible Economy; Combating Inflation Is the First Task.

[Question] Will the Party enter into any coalition, and with whom?

[Bekes] It is difficult to speak about this at present because all the forces are undergoing transformation. There are no obstacles on our side, for we are not alone among democratic reformist forces.

[Question] Can you now predict the result of the elections?

[Bekes] The body of voters is still not properly structured. This is not a disparagement, but a realistic statement which is a consequence of an absence of pluralism through many years and of the fact that the great majority of the political groups have not published their specific programs. Two things will influence the final result: first the programs, and secondly, and even more so, the ability of the candidates to persuade the voters that their programs will be implemented, for it is easy to make promises but difficult to carry out one's promises.

Slovene LC Presidium on Proposed Protest Meeting

LD1411012589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The demand made by the Association for the Return of the Serbs Expelled From Kosovo to be allowed to organize a peaceful protest meeting in Ljubljana on 1 December will be discussed by the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia Central Committee [CC] to whom the demand had been addressed, on 16 November. While discussing this demand, the Presidium of the LC of Slovenia CC decided tonight that a special working group should prepare stands on this by 16 November and put them forward during the session of the LC of Slovenia CC.

Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the LC of Slovenia CC stressed that the commitment of the LC of Slovenia to open agreement-seeking and talks as a condition for giving life to a democratic dialogue in Yugoslavia must be respected. However, in so doing he expressed reservations on the stands expressed in the demand suggesting that the participants in the meeting will not demand the return of the factories transferred from Serbia to Slovenia or try to prevent Slovenia from entering Europe. He stressed that the LC of Slovenia had at all times been advocating Yugoslavia's presence in Europe.

For this reason the LC of Slovenia CC, Kucan believes, "will make a comprehensive review of the political aspects of the demand". The reply on valid norms for holding the meeting will be given by the Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs who is responsible for mass meetings.

Kucan also pointed out that they were discussing the first attempt to organize a meeting in Slovenia by inhabitants from a different area.